

A NEW  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,

FROM THE  
DESCENT of the ROMANS,  
TO THE  
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO  
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.  
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*  
*Bolingbroke from Dion. Halic.*

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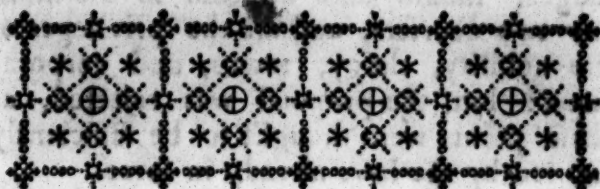
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T H E

# History of ENGLAND.



*The* HISTORY of EDWARD III.  
*continued.* A. D. 1341.



HE prelates and nobility, not satisfied with their late success, resolved to extort some other privileges from the crown. They proposed that the king should, on the third day of every session, resume all posts and places into his own hands, that the officers might be obliged to answer to all charges exhibited against them in parliament; that all the great officers of the crown, and the

judges,

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judges, should take an oath to maintain the two charters, and all the privileges of the nobility, clergy, towns, and corporations: but the proposal was rejected, as these points were thought to be sufficiently secured by the laws already in force.

They demanded, however, in a more resolute manner, and in a more peremptory tone, that the clergy should be exempted from the attachment of their persons and effects, as also from fines imposed by lay-judges, without the consent of their ordinary; that the king's officers should not presume to enter their houses, granges, or churches; and that the civil judges should not take cognizance of usurers, commutation-money, or of testamentary and matrimonial accompts; all of which (as they pretended) were matters that belonged solely to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

These, and some other articles, being drawn up in the form of a statute, were read before the king and his council; but the chancellor, treasurer, and several judges protested against their passing into a law, declaring that they would not observe them, if contrary to the ancient customs of the realm, which they were sworn to maintain.

The king, however, being hard pressed for want of money, which he found the  
parlia-

parliament would grant him on no other terms, was at last obliged to confirm them with the great seal; though not before he had entered a secret protest, importing, that, as soon as his convenience permitted, he would, from his own authority, revoke every concession that should be extorted from him in such a manner.

Accordingly, in a great council, which was held about Michaelmas, he annulled this statute, as far as lay in his power, and inhibited the archbishop of Canterbury from doing any thing in the ensuing provincial synod, towards the confirmation of that pretended statute, and the prejudice of his royal dignity and prerogative.

Edward's compliance with this demand, however insincere, and therefore unjustifiable, was, nevertheless, attended with one good effect. He immediately obtained a supply of twenty thousand sacks of wool, to be transported to Flanders before Michaelmas; and all other persons were strictly prohibited from sending over any quantity of the same merchandize till after that term, on pain of forfeiting thrice the value together with life and limb.

But this arrived too late to repair the damage which the king's poverty had occasioned in the former campaign. The emperor Lewis, being no longer fed with Eng-

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lish money, was easily influenced by French gold, and by the importunities of his wife Margaret, who was niece to Philip de Valois, to deprive Edward of the vicariat of the empire, and espouse the cause of his enemy; and his example was followed by the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, and several other princes of the empire; the pope compromised the dispute between the count of Hainault and the bishop of Cambray; and the French garrison having quitted this place, the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, and others of Edward's allies, had no longer any pretence for continuing the war against France; nor could they be persuaded to prosecute their military operations, without greater supplies of money than their faint and ineffectual efforts were found to deserve.

While Edward was thus deserted by all his allies on the Continent, and rendered incapable of carrying on the war in Flanders, an unexpected event opened him a way into the very heart of Philip's dominions, where he could attack that monarch with less expence, and a greater probability of success.

John III. duke of Brittany dying without issue, left his dominions to his niece Jane, married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the  
king

king of France; but John de Montfort, brother to the late duke, though by a second marriage, claimed the dutchy, as the only male heir of the family, and was received as the successor by the people of Nantes, where he convoked an assembly of the states, that his title might be acknowledged.

The greatest part of the nobility having already sworn fealty to Charles de Blois, whom they either considered as the lawful heir, in right of his wife, or, at least, imagined would be strongly supported in his pretensions by the whole power of France, the assembly was extremely thin; and, indeed, no person of distinction was present, except Henry de Leon, a nobleman of great valour, experience, and interest.

Notwithstanding this tacit disavowal of his claim, John having seized his brother's treasure, began to levy troops, and soon collected a numerous army, with which he reduced Brest, Rennes, Hennebon, Vannes, Auray, Guerrande, Carhaix, and several other places that adhered to his rival; but, as he had reason to expect a vigorous opposition from France, he resolved to strengthen his cause with some powerful alliance.

With this view he applied to Edward king of England, who, being now disengaged from his German allies, accepted his proposal



proposal with great alacrity. John came over to England, where, by the mediation of his cousin Robert d'Artois, the treaty was soon concluded, and he returned to Nantes, where he received a summons to attend the court of Peers in France, in order to prove the validity of his claim to the dutchy of Bretagne.

He had no great reason to expect any favour, or even impartiality, from that judicature in a dispute with Philip's nephew; nor, indeed, was it consistent with the maxims of prudence to trust himself in the hands of his enemies, after the several steps he had taken; but bold and intrepid, as he certainly was, and, perhaps, persuaded of the legality of his own title, he set out with a train of four hundred gentlemen, and arrived at Paris by the day appointed.

It was not long before he was sensible of the error he had committed. Philip told him, at his first audience, that he had no right to the dutchy in question, and even charged him with having contracted alliances with the enemies of France; but he pretended that his only intention in going to England was to solicit for the earldom of Richmond, which had been enjoyed by his brother, and which, upon his death, had been seized by the crown; and, with regard to the dutchy, he declared his readiness



ness to stand trial, and submit to the award of his judges. Philip replied, that his title should be discussed within a fortnight, and, in the mean time, enjoined him not to stir from Paris.

Convinced by this premature declaration, that he should certainly lose his cause, and, apprehending from such a peremptory injunction, that Philip intended to arrest his person, until he should have delivered up all the towns and castles he possessed in Bretagne, he resolved to avoid the impending danger, by a secret and precipitate flight. The better to conceal his design from Philip, he amused that monarch with a petition to be admitted to do homage, and ordered his agents to redouble their solicitations.

Mean while, having disguised himself in the dress of a burgher, he slipped out of Paris early in the morning, upon the first opening of the gates, accompanied only by four attendants. The rest of his retinue and servants continued at his lodgings, and provided for his table as usual, pretending that he himself was confined to his chamber by sickness.

By this means his departure was kept a secret for four days, in which time he had got out of the reach of his enemies; but Philip was no sooner informed of his escape, than,

than, fired with rage and indignation, he instantly confiscated the county of Montfort; commanded the parliament of Paris, by his sole authority, and without form or trial, to adjudge Brittany to Charles de Blois; and, in order to carry the sentence into immediate execution, supplied his nephew with a numerous army, which assembled at Angers, under the command of his eldest son John duke of Normandy, attended by several princes of the blood, and a great part of the French nobility.

Their first attempt was on Chantoceaux, which, after several assaults, was at last surrendered; they then laid siege to Nantes, the reduction of which they owed to the treachery of the citizens, and, perhaps, to that of Henry de Leon the governour. This nobleman, having made a sally to intercept a convoy of provisions, had suffered the action to become so general, that two hundred of the inhabitants were taken prisoners; and John de Montfort having reprimanded him for the rashness of his conduct, he was incensed to such a degree, that he is said to have betrayed his master.

The gates of the place were next morning opened to the French, who entered the city without opposition; and seizing John in the castle, conveyed him immediately to  
Paris,

Paris, where he remained a prisoner for several years.

This misfortune would have entirely ruined his party, had not his interest been supported by the extraordinary abilities of his wife Jane of Flanders, a lady, who seems to have possessed in her own person all the excellent qualities of both sexes.

Bold, daring, and intrepid, she fought like a warrior in the field; shrewd, sensible, and sagacious, she spoke like a politician in the council; and endued with the most amiable manners, and winning address, she was able to move the minds of her subjects by the force of her eloquence, and mould them exactly according to her pleasure.

She happened to be at Rennes, when she received the news of her husband's captivity; but that disaster, instead of depressing her spirits, served only to arouse her native courage and fortitude. She forthwith assembled the citizens; and, holding in her arms her infant-son, recommended him to their care and protection, as the last male-heir of their ancient dukes, who had always governed them with lenity and indulgence, and to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment.

She declared herself willing to run all hazards with them in so just a cause; pointed

ed out the resources that still remained in the alliance of England; and earnestly besought them to make one vigorous effort against an usurper, who being forced upon them by the arms of France, would, as a mark of his gratitude, sacrifice the liberties of Brittany to his protector.

The people, moved by the affecting appearance, and animated by the noble conduct of the princess, vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family; and their example was followed by almost all the Bretons.

The countess went from place to place, encouraging the garrisons of the several fortresses, and providing them with every thing necessary for their subsistence; and, after having put the whole province in a posture of defence, she shut herself up with her son in Hennebon, where she resolved to wait for the succours which the king of England had promised to send to her assistance.

A body of troops had been actually raised for this purpose under the command of Robert d'Artois, Walter de Manny, and the lords Morley, Ferrers, Tibetot, and Bardolph, and a fleet assembled for transporting them to the Continent; but before the middle of November, the time fixed for their departure, Edward's attention  
was

was engrossed by the state of affairs in Scotland.

While he was employed, in the course of the preceding year, in the siege of Tournay, William lord Douglas had surprized the castle of Edinburgh; and the Scots being included in the truce which was made with Philip, hostilities ceased in that country, till the ensuing Midsummer, when the term of the cessation expired. Then they laid siege to the castle of Sterling, and attacked the place with such desperate and repeated assaults, that the garrison was forced to surrender before Edward could come to its relief.

The king, concluding from this event, that, without some vigorous effort, his interest in Scotland must soon be destroyed, resolved to undertake another expedition into that country. With this view he summoned his vassals to meet him at Newcastle by the twenty-fourth day of January,\* so as to form an army of forty thousand foot, and six thousand horse; and fitted out a fleet to attend him in his march, and supply his land-forces with forage and provisions.

The lord Robert Steward, guardian of Scotland, Douglas, and other noblemen of that kingdom, alarmed at the danger that

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threat-

\* A. D. 1342.



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threatened their country, endeavoured, if possible, to avert the impending storm, and sent ambassadors to Edward to sue for a truce of six months, on condition of submitting to his government, if David de Brus should not return from France by the month of May, and be able to collect an army sufficient to meet the English in the open field.

The king of England was the more inclined to listen to this proposal, as his fleet had been dispersed by a violent storm, so that he would have found it utterly impossible to maintain his forces in the enemy's country. Accordingly, he agreed to the truce, and having received security for the performance of articles, returned to London in the beginning of February.

This cessation of arms, however, was of no long duration; for David de Brus returning to Scotland in a few weeks, the truce was of consequence dissolved. On the thirtieth day of March, Sir Alexander Ramsay took the castle of Roxburgh by escalade, for which important service he was appointed governour of the fortress; but he was treacherously seized, and cruelly starved to death by William Douglas, who was jealous of the growing reputation of that soldier. William Bullock was killed, about the same time, and in much the same manner,



manner, by David Barclay ; and other feuds and animosities arising among the principal noblemen, the whole kingdom was thrown into anarchy and confusion.

Bruce was sensible, that, in this situation of affairs, he would be little able to make head against such a powerful neighbour as England ; and as he was desirous of putting an end to these dangerous quarrels, he endeavoured to obtain a respite from hostilities. Edward, being bent upon an expedition to Brittany, was no less favourably disposed for a treaty ; and conferences being opened on the subject, a truce was concluded for the space of two years, and afterwards renewed for two years longer.

Mean while, Jane of Brittany sent Amaury de Clifton to hasten the succours from England ; and that officer brought over her young son, whose governour he was appointed, to be educated in the court of London : at the same time she proposed a marriage between him and one of the king's daughters, which was afterwards compleated ; and offered to put him in possession of Brest, and some other fortresses, as a security for the repayment of the money he should expend in giving her assistance.

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Edward embraced the proposal with great alacrity, and ordered an hundred ships, of forty tons each, to be assembled at Harwich by the twenty-seventh day of March, to transport Sir Walter de Manny with three thousand archers, and a good body of other troops to Brittany; another fleet was ordered to rendezvous at Portsmouth for the conveyance of a stronger reinforcement, under the command of William de Bohun earl of Northampton, whom the king constituted his lieutenant in the realm of France and the dutchy of Brittany; and he was attended by Robert d'Artois, and a vast number of English noblemen; but by various accidents this fleet was prevented from sailing till the month of July.

During these transactions at the English court, Charles de Blois, accompanied by the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon, Eu, and Guisnes, Lewis d'Espagne of the house la Cerda, and many other noblemen, had taken the field with a numerous army, composed of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and Bretons; and, having reduced Rennes, laid siege to Hennebont, which was defended by the countess in person.

This heroine repulsed the assailants in all their attacks, with the most undaunted courage;

rage; and observing one day that their whole army had left the camp to join in a general storm, she rushed forth at a postern-gate, with three hundred horse, set fire to their tents and baggage, killed their sutlers and servants, and raised such a terror and consternation through all their quarters, that the French gave over the assault, and, getting betwixt her and the walls, endeavoured to cut off her retreat to the city. Thus intercepted, she put the spurs to her horse, and, without halting, galloped directly to Brest, which lay at the distance of two and twenty miles from the scene of action. There being supplied with a body of five hundred horse, she immediately returned, and, fighting her way through one part of the French camp, was received into Hennebon amidst the acclamations of the people.

The enemy, at once ashamed and enraged at seeing themselves thus foiled by a female warrior, gave a general assault, which lasted from morning till three in the afternoon, when they were repulsed with great slaughter: then despairing of being able to take the place without the military engines, which they had left at Rennes, Lewis d'Espagne was ordered to continue the siege with part of the army, until these implements should arrive, while

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Charles de Blois marched off with the rest to invest the city of Auray.

Lewis, when furnished with these machines, began to ply them with so much vigour, that great breaches were made in the walls; many of the defendants were slain by the stones and missiles, which were thrown from them without intermission; and the place was at last reduced to such extremity, that the garrison began to think of a capitulation.

The bishop of Leon was actually engaged in a conference on this subject with some of the enemy, when the countess of Montfort, who had ascended a high tower, and was looking towards the sea with great impatience, descried some ships at a distance. She immediately exclaimed in a transport of joy, behold the succours! the English succours! no capitulation! and in a few hours the English fleet, which had been detained for two whole months by contrary winds, arrived in the harbour.

Walter de Manny and Amaury de Clifton being landed with their forces, made a vigorous sally, in which they demolished all the works and engines of the besiegers; and Lewis d'Espagne, despairing of success, relinquished the enterprize, and joined Charles de Blois before Auray.

Charles

Charles thinking himself abundantly able to reduce Auray, detached Lewis to invest Guingam and Guerrande, both of which he easily subdued : then embarking about six thousand of his men on board of the fleet, he landed near Quimperlé, and wasted the country with fire and sword. Manny and Clisson, sailing thither with a body of three thousand archers, surprized and took their ships, the crews of which they put to the sword; and then debarking their troops, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that not above three hundred of the whole number escaped with Lewis. In the mean time, Charles having reduced Auray, advanced to Vannes, and from thence to Carhaix, of both which he soon made himself master; and, elated with this success, resumed the siege of Hennebon, in which, however, he again miscarried.

As the succours which had already arrived from England, were by no means sufficient to enable the countess to take the field, she went over to that country, in order to forward the other supplies; and, in her return with Robert d'Artois, met the French fleet near Guernsey, commanded by Lewis d'Espagne. There instantly ensued a desperate engagement, which lasted with great obstinacy till night parted the combatants, who lay by with a determined resolution to renew



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renew the battle at break of day; but being separated in the dark by a violent storm, the English fleet arrived the following evening in the harbour of Hennebon.

Jane and Robert, equally bold and daring, advanced with their troops to Vannes, in hope of taking it by storm. Accordingly, they gave a general assault, which was continued the whole day with the utmost courage and resolution, though, at last, they were repulsed with some loss: but returning to the charge that same night, and amusing the enemy by two sham attacks in different quarters, they took it by assault, and Robert was appointed governor.

It did not, however, remain long in the possession of the English; for the earl of Salisbury having drawn off the greatest part of the troops in order to invest Rennes, Charles de Blois laid siege to Vannes, and, at last, retook it, notwithstanding the noble defence that was made by Robert d'Artois, who retreated with the shattered remains of the garrison to Hennebon, from whence he was conveyed to London for the cure of his wounds, of which he died in the month of October.

Edward embarked at Sandwich on the fifth day of the same month, and, landing in Bretagne, declared, that he did not come

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as an enemy of France, but only as an ally of the count de Montfort. In a few days after his arrival, he laid siege to Vannes; but the place being well fortified, and defended by a strong garrison under the command of Oliver de Clifton, Henry de Leon, and other noblemen of Brittany, he could not take it by storm, and was therefore obliged to convert the siege into a blockade.

Leaving part of his troops for that service, he advanced with the rest towards Rennes, and reduced Malestroit and Ploermel in his way: then proceeding to Nantes, in hopes of bringing Charles de Blois to an engagement, before he should be reinforced by the succours he expected from France, he drew up his army in order of battle before the town, and set fire to the suburbs.

Charles, though highly incensed at this outrage, would not venture a battle, because he hoped every day to be joined by the duke of Normandy, who was at this time employed in raising forces at Angers. The king, leaving the earl of Northampton, and the lords Beaumont, Piercy and Roos, with a body of six hundred lances, and two thousand archers, to maintain, at least, the appearance of a siege, retired towards Vannes, which was hard pressed  
by

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by the English, when the duke of Normandy appeared at the head of forty thousand men, and advanced to the relief of Nantes.

Edward recalled his troops from that quarter, in order to reinforce his army, which did not amount to twenty thousand men at arms, infantry and archers; and when the duke advanced to Vannes, he found the king of England strongly entrenched. The French general took the same precaution; and both armies lay encamped in sight of each other, during the best part of the winter, in the course of which their numbers were greatly diminished by the severity of the weather, though the English were exposed to the additional hardship of want of provisions; for their communication with their own country was, in a great measure, cut off by the vigilance of Lewis d'Espagne, who hovered on the coast with a fleet of thirty ships, and one hundred gallies. Nevertheless, as Edward daily expected to be relieved from this and all other difficulties, by the arrival of a fleet and forces from England, he determined to continue the siege, in which he imagined his honour was concerned.

In this delicate situation of affairs, while the French general dreaded the arrival of  
the

of the English succours, and Edward could attempt nothing until he should be reinforced, two cardinals arrived at Malestroit, as ambassadors from Clement VI. who had lately been raised to the papal throne, and interposed their good offices in order to effect an accommodation. Their endeavours were attended with success. The two parties consented to treat on the subject of a peace; and on the nineteenth day of January \* agreed that the difference should be referred to a fair discussion in presence of the pope, who should mediate as a private person and common friend, in a treaty to be begun at Midsummer, so as that the articles might be finally settled before the ensuing Christmas.

In the mean time, a truce was concluded for three years, on the following terms: that Vannes should be sequestered till the expiration of that term, in the hands of the cardinals, who might dispose of it as they should think proper: that the Flemings should be absolved from the censures denounced against them by the late pope: that all other places should remain in the hands of the present possessors; and the prisoners on both sides be set at liberty, on payment of their ransom: that the allies of the two kings should be included in this agreement;

\* A. D. 1343.

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greement; and that both should use their utmost diligence to prevent hostilities in Guienne, France, and Brittany.

These articles being ratified and confirmed by the oaths of several noblemen of each party, Edward embarked for England; and after having been tossed by storms and tempests for several weeks, during which he was often in the most imminent danger of shipwreck, he landed on the second day of March at Weymouth, from whence he proceeded directly for London.

A parliament had been convoked at Westminster, on the twenty-eighth day of April, to consider of the late truce and the proposed treaty, as well as to deliberate upon the state of the nation, and the means of securing the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. These matters were debated by the bishops, prelates, and barons, in the White-Chamber; and by the knights of the shires, and the representatives of cities and boroughs, in the Painted-Chamber of the palace: and this is the first time that the Rolls make a clear distinction between the two houses, as they are now constituted.

After mature deliberation they agreed in approving the truce as advantageous and honourable, and recommended a treaty of peace as a desirable object, provided it could

could be obtained on reasonable terms ; otherwise they would maintain his majesty's cause with all that zeal and spirit which became dutiful and loyal subjects.

When the king desired them to represent any grievances they had suffered in his absence, they complained of some hardships, and demanded that a commission should be given to justices, chosen by both houses, and sworn before the lords and commons, to preserve the peace, and administer justice in the several counties, and hear and determine causes of felony, conspiracy, champerty, breaches of the peace, amortisement of lands without licence, melting of gold coin by goldsmiths, exportation of good, and importation of bad money by merchants, and provisions and usurpations of the court of Rome. This commission was accordingly issued ; but it gave so much disgust to the people in general, that it was revoked in the next session.

To remedy the bad effects of adulterated coin, and prevent the continuance and increase of that evil for the future, a proclamation was published, prohibiting the importation of bad money under the severest penalties ; a new coinage of silver sterlings was made, which were not to be exported out of the kingdom ; and a number of



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gold florins were coined of the same value with those of Flanders, that they might pass in both countries with the consent of the Flemings, which was easily obtained : at the same time, the king wrote to the pope and cardinals, desiring they would put a stop to the provisions and other usurpations, by which the people had been oppressed, and the kingdom drained of its treasure.

The conferences for a peace to be held in presence of the pope, were postponed to Lent, on account of some breaches of the truce committed by the partizans of France, for which Philip neglected to give proper satisfaction : and when they were at last opened, the negotiation proved abortive ; for the English commissioners insisted upon their beginning with the examination of their master's claim to the crown of France ; and Philip declared that Edward should never enjoy a foot of land in France, except what he might hold of him as lord paramount and superior, by homage and in vassalage. The pope endeavoured to persuade both parties to abate a little in their demands ; but they were equally obstinate and inflexible, and the treaty never took effect.

The two kings, indeed, were by this time inflamed with the most implacable rancour and



and animosity against each other, and all hopes of compromising the quarrel in an amicable manner had entirely vanished.\*

Philip seems to have agreed to the truce for no other reason, than that the English forces might be withdrawn out of Brittany; and accordingly the cessation of hostilities had no sooner commenced, than he seized as many of the adherents of John de Monfort as he possibly could, alledging, in excuse, that they were not comprehended in the agreement; some of them were put to death, and others shut up in dark and loathsome prisons. He laid the blame of these outrages upon Charles de Blois, who endeavoured to justify his conduct by asserting, that, as he was not mentioned by name, he could not be supposed to be included in the treaty.

It had been stipulated, that John de Monfort should be released from prison on his giving security, that he would take no step to the prejudice of Charles de Blois's pretensions during the continuance of the truce; and his nephew John, eldest son of Bourchard count of Vendome, undertook for the performance of this article.

Accordingly, a formal decree had been passed in the parliament of Paris for his

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enlargement ; but, notwithstanding this appearance of equity, he was still detained in prison, and Philip, in his answer to the pope's remonstrances, affirmed that he was not now a prisoner for any public reason that concerned the king of England, but for some private and particular causes of another nature.

What these causes were the public were never able to discover : perhaps they were no other than Philip's own avarice and ambition ; as it is well known that he refused to release his prisoner, unless he would deliver up Brest and Hennebon, and renounce all claim to the dutchy of Bretagne.

But of all the crimes of this faithless and perjured monarch, none stained his character with a more indelible mark of infamy, or rendered him more the object of universal hatred and detestation, than his treatment of Oliver de Clifton, who had served him and Charles de Blois with equal zeal and ability.

Oliver had been taken prisoner in the siege of Namur, together with Henry de Leon, and exchanged by Edward for the lord Stafford, at the instances of his brother Amaury, who was attached to the cause of Montfort. Philip was naturally cruel and suspicious : he took umbrage at  
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this preference given by Edward to Oliver over Henry de Leon; he hated Oliver for the sake of his brother; he imagined that he had entered into some private engagements with Edward; and actuated by all these motives, he ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison. Immediately after his arrest, this unfortunate nobleman was without form or trial, beheaded at Paris; his body hung on a gibbet, his head exposed at Nantz, and his estate confiscated.

The Bretons were so highly incensed at this cruel and tyrannical proceeding, that the baron de Loheac abandoned the French interest, and the inhabitants of Vannes taking to their arms, expelled the pope's garrison, and declared in favour of John de Montfort.

These circumstances, instead of opening the eyes of Philip to a sense of his own crimes, served only to strengthen his suspicions; and as he knew no other way of keeping people in their duty but by force and terror, he instantly gave orders for apprehending Geoffry de Malestroit, with his son John, and eight other noblemen of Brittany, who, though they had all distinguished themselves in the service of Charles de Blois, were put to death in the same infamous manner which had been practiced upon Oliver de Clifton.

Edward resolving, in imitation of king Arthur, to hold a round table at Windsor on the nineteenth day of January, had notified his intention in all parts of Europe by a public proclamation; and granted safe-conducts to knights of all countries, without distinction, who should please to honour his festival with their presence.

Philip of France, either desirous of rivaling the glory of Edward, or fearing lest the bravest knights in Europe, allured by this temptation, should enter into the service of England, endeavoured to divert them from the thoughts of crossing the sea by proclaiming a round table of the like nature, to be held on the very same day at Paris, on pretence of doing honour to the marriage of his second son Philip, with Blanche the posthumous daughter of Charles the Fair, his predecessor.

But under this specious appearance, Philip harboured another and a less honourable purpose: he decoyed a great number of Breton lords to his court, where, notwithstanding the safe-conducts which, on these occasions, was granted to all persons without distinction, they were basely arrested and committed to prison, and even some of them were put to death.

Edward's festival was celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, amidst a  
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vast concourse of knights from all parts of Christendom. The order of king Arthur's knights of the round table was revived under the appellation of that of the garter, in a large hall built at Windsor for the purpose : after they had feasted for some days, the tilts and tournaments began in presence of the queen and all the ladies of the court ; many surprising feats of chivalry were performed by the combatants who were animated by all the concurring motives of glory and gallantry to display their dexterity and courage.

When the parliament met at Westminster on the fourth day of June, Edward complained to them of Philip's cruelty, injustice, and breach of the truce ; for besides the instances we have already mentioned, he had sent a strong body of forces into Guienne, where they took several towns and castles, and wasted the whole country. He had likewise endeavoured to draw off Edward's allies from his interest, and engage them in his own party, even during the negotiation that was carrying on in presence of the pope ; and every part of his conduct discovered a determined resolution to renew the war with fresh animosity.

The earls of Derby and Arundel had been sent, with some forces, into Guienne, to repel the incursions of the French ; but



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as greater preparations were deemed necessary, the parliament advised him to exert his utmost efforts, either to conclude a solid peace, or to finish the war by a decisive battle.

In order to enable him to pursue these vigorous measures, the clergy granted a triennial tenth of their revenues; the nobility and knights of the shires voted two fifteenths of their rents; and the citizens and burgeses gave two tenths of their moveables.

But this subsidy, however large, not being judged sufficient, Edward summoned all freeholders possessed of lands to the value of forty pounds a year, who were not already knighted, to come and receive that honour; and the fees arising from this ceremony amounted to a considerable sum.

At the same time he ordered his military tenants in Ireland to furnish him with two hundred men at arms, and five hundred light-horse, to assemble at Portsmouth on the fifteenth of September, in order to go upon a foreign expedition.

A commission was given to Nicolino de Fieschi to hire a number of Genoese galleys. The castles in Brittany belonging to the countess of Montfort were ordered to be well fortified and supplied with numerous garri-sons; and Sir Thomas Dagworth, a brave and experienced officer, was sent over with  
one

one hundred men at arms, and twice that number of archers, to assist her party.

The troops sent to Gascony under the command of the earls of Derby, Arundel, Oxford, and Pembroke, with the lords Stafford and Manny, amounted to five hundred knights and gentlemen, two thousand archers, and a large body of infantry; and the young earl of Salisbury, with six hundred men at arms, and two thousand archers, was ordered to serve under Edward Baliol, appointed to defend the northern countries from the incursions of the Scots, who were warmly attached to the interest of Philip.

The earl of Derby landing at Bayonne on the sixth day of June, directed his march towards Bergerac on the Dodogne, where the French army lay encamped under the command of Barnard count de L'Isle Jourdain, assisted by the counts of Cominges, Perigort, and Valentinois, the viscounts of Cormain and Villemur, and several other Gascon noblemen.

They had intrenched themselves so strongly in the suburbs, that it would have been absolutely impossible to dislodge them from their advantageous situation, had it not been for their own folly. Confiding in the superiority of their numbers, they sallied forth upon the English, who not only repulsed them with great bravery, but even entered  
with

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with them pell-mell into their intrenchments, and obliged them to take refuge in the city.

As the place had no fortifications on the side of the river, except a single pallisade, the count was only able to sustain one assault, in which the English made a lodgment on the breach; he therefore retired in the night to La Reole, and disposed of his troops in several fortresses.

These, however, were soon reduced by the English; for Derby having provided for the security of Bergerac, advanced to La Linde, which he easily took, together with Beaumont, Montagret, Libourne, Auberoche, and several other castles; after which success he returned to Bourdeaux. The count de L'Isle, informed of his retreat, collected a body of twelve thousand men, and, besieging Auberoche, battered it with engines so furiously, that, in six days, the fortifications were almost demolished.

Derby, apprized of the distress of the garrison, set out from Bourdeaux by night with a party of three hundred lances, and twice that number of archers, after having sent orders to the earl of Pembroke, who lay at Bergerac with three hundred men at arms, and four thousand archers, to join with these forces at Libourne, which



which he reached unperceived before morning: having waited all day for the earl of Pembroke, he continued his march in the night; and early in the morning arrived within two leagues of Auberoche.

In this place he remained till towards the evening, when, despairing of Pembroke's arrival, he was persuaded by the gallant Sir Walter de Manny to beat up the French quarters, while they should be at supper. With this view they proceeded under covert of the wood, till they were close to one quarter of the enemy's camp: then rushed in upon them with such impetuosity, that the counts de L'Isle, Perigord, and Valentinois were taken in their tents before they had time to recover from their surprise; and their soldiers, unable to make any resistance, were cut to pieces in great numbers, and the rest betook themselves to a precipitate flight.

But while havock and confusion prevailed in this quarter, the other half of the French army, commanded by the count of Cominges, and the viscounts of Carmain and Villemur, flew to their arms; and being drawn up in order of battle, advanced against the English with great intrepidity.

The earl of Derby, though he had not above one fourth of their number, determined to make one vigorous effort to complete

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plete the work he had so happily begun ; and, collecting his scattered forces, he charged the enemy with irresistible fury. The French, desirous of revenging the death of their countrymen, gave him a warm reception ; and a desperate engagement ensuing, the victory remained for a long time doubtful, till the garrison of Auberoche, hearing the trumpets sounding a charge on both sides, and descrying some English banners, though it was yet but the twilight, sallied forth in great numbers, and, falling upon the rear of the French army, decided the fortune of the day. The enemy, unable to make any further resistance, were instantly routed with great slaughter ; their loss, in both actions, amounting to seven thousand slain, and twelve hundred prisoners ; among whom were nine counts and viscounts, and two hundred knights and gentlemen of distinction.

Pembroke arrived next morning with the troops under his command, and was greatly vexed that he had not the happiness to have a share in such a glorious action. The earl of Derby having destroyed the whole force of the enemy in those parts, returned to Bourdeaux, where, putting his troops into winter-quarters, he embarked

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for England, in order to procure fresh succours.

With these he returned in June to Guienne, and immediately took the field at the head of one thousand men at arms, twice that number of archers, and a large body of infantry, in order to recover the other places, which had been reduced by Philip and his predecessor.

He accordingly made himself master of St. Basil, Roche-meillan, Monzegur, Aiguillon, Castel Sagrat, La Reole, Montpessat, Maureon, and, in a word, of every other town and castle which he invested, except Blaye, which was so bravely defended by William Rochechouart and Guichard d'Angles, afterwards knight of the garter, that the earl of Derby, after having spent a month in the siege, thought proper to abandon the enterprize, and return to Bourdeaux, as the season was now far advanced.

About this time, John de Montfort, after having suffered a severe imprisonment of near four years in the Louvre, which had greatly impaired his health, and weakened his constitution, found means to make his escape in the disguise of a beggar; and coming over to England, where his wife resided, exerted his influence to so good purpose, that all hopes of a peace

being vanished, Edward resolved to declare war against France in form.\*

With this view, he constituted the earl of Northampton his lieutenant in that kingdom, as well as in Brittany, and according to the custom of the age on such occasions, empowered him to defy Philip de Valois as a perjured truce-breaker; an usurper of the crown of France; and a mortal enemy to king Edward his lawful sovereign.

John de Montfort having done homage and swore fealty to Edward, as king of France, for the dutchy of Bretagne, repaired thither in the beginning of June, accompanied by the earls of Northampton, Oxford, and some other noblemen, with a good body of forces, by which he was enabled to reduce Dinan, and besiege Quimper-Corentin, which had lately been taken by Charles de Blois, who put fourteen hundred of the inhabitants to the sword; but his competitor marching to the relief of the place at the head of a numerous army, he was obliged to raise the siege, and retired to Hennebon, where, on the sixteenth day of September, he died of a fever.

Notwithstanding this repulse, the earl of Northampton defeated Charles in a pitched battle

battle, near Morlaix, and took Roche-derien by storm; but winter approaching, he committed the affairs of Brittany to the care of Sir Thomas Dagworth, and immediately set sail for England.

When Edward empowered the earl of Northampton to defy Philip in his name, he acquainted the pope with this transaction, and justified his conduct to the world in a public manifesto. This declaration of a war between the two kingdoms, drew over to England a number of foreign soldiers of fortune, among whom was Godfrey de Harcourt, lord of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, in Normandy, who had been expelled the French court on the following occasion.

He had courted a young lady in the neighbourhood, named Jane, sole daughter and heiress of Roger Bacon lord of Molay, and even obtained her consent to a marriage; but his nuptials were prevented by the artifice and intrigues of Robert Bertrand baron of Briquebec, who, by the authority of Philip de Valois, procured the young heiress for his son William, then in the seventeenth year of his age.

Godfrey was so highly incensed at this affront, that he drew his sword upon Bertrand even in the king's presence; and be-



ing summoned before the parliament of Paris to answer for this offence, he refused to appear.

After having disobeyed four different citations, Philip banished him the realm, and confiscated his estate; and not satisfied with having punished him in person, he wreaked his vengeance upon his friends and relations. William Bacon, Richard de Piercy, and the lord of Roche-Tesson, having gone to the tournament at Paris, were thrown into prison, accused of high-treason, and condemned to the same cruel and ignominious death which Oliver de Clisson had suffered, though, like him, they had distinguished themselves in the service of Charles de Blois.

Godfrey would probably have met with the same fate, had he not retired to the court of John duke of Brabant, his near relation, who endeavoured to prevail upon Philip to re-admit him into his favour. But all his good offices proved ineffectual: Philip was implacable; and John continued in Brabant, till the defiance of Edward was published, when he repaired to the court of England, where he did homage to the king for his lands in France, and supplied the place of his countryman Robert d'Artois in the English councils.

Before

Before Edward would undertake an expedition against France, he summoned his former allies to fulfil their engagements; particularly the duke of Brabant, with whom he had agreed to contract an affinity by a match between Jane, the duke's eldest daughter and heiress, and his own son Edward, who, during the last parliament, had been created prince of Wales.

But the pope refusing to grant a dispensation, as the parties were related in the third degree of consanguinity, the marriage never took effect; and the duke himself, either influenced by the presents, or cajoled by the promises of Philip, was become less zealous in the cause of Edward. At the same time, a treaty was begun with Lewis of Bavaria, the emperor, and his son Lewis marquis of Brandenburg; but whether Edward was unable or unwilling to satisfy the exorbitant demands of these princes, the negotiation proved abortive.

He seems to have placed greater confidence in the fidelity of James d'Arteville, the demagogue of Ghent, who engaged to persuade the Flemings to depose their own count in favour of Edward prince of Wales, who should erect Flanders into a dutchy.

In order to carry this scheme into execution, the king, having appointed his son

Lionel guardian of the realm, set sail from the port of Sandwich on the third day of July, accompanied by the prince, and a splendid train of nobility, with a strong body of forces on board of a numerous fleet; and landing at Sluys, had a conference with the deputies of the chief towns of Flanders, to whom he gave a grand and magnificent entertainment.

In the midst of the repast, d'Arteville proposed, that they should either oblige their count to renounce his connection with Philip de Valois; or, in case of refusal, transfer their allegiance to the prince of Wales, whose father would support them in the execution of this measure, erect their country into a dukedom, and encourage and protect them in such a manner, that they would flourish in trade above all the other nations of Europe.

The deputies, alarmed at this proposal, begged they might have time to consult their constituents, promising to give a final answer within the space of one month; and Edward, observing their hatred and aversion to the proposer, persuaded d'Arteville to accept a guard of five hundred Welchmen, under the command of Sir John Mau-travers.

The deputies of Ghent, upon their return to that city, gave such an unfavourable

ble account of this transaction, that all the inhabitants vowed vengeance against the author of such a wicked and detestable scheme; and Gerard Denis, dean of the Weavers, and some other burghers, jealous of the growing power and popularity of d'Arteville, and warmly attached to the cause of their count, embraced this opportunity of destroying the demagogue: they insinuated that he had received all the revenues of Flanders for upwards of seven years, which, instead of employing in the service of the state, he had appropriated to his own use; and that he had remitted vast sums of money into England, where, after he had ruined his own country, he intended to fix his abode.

These reports, however groundless, were greedily swallowed by the credulous mob, who now glowed with indignation against the man whom they had formerly adored as the defender of their liberties; and when d'Arteville returned from Bruges, which, together with Ypres, he had drawn over to his measures, he soon felt the fatal effects of their resentment: his house was immediately surrounded by the enraged populace, who rushed into it like a torrent, and after having slain about seventy of his Welch guards, who endeavoured to make  
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some resistance, put him, with several of his relations, to instant death.

Edward was greatly provoked at this outrage, which wholly overturned the plan he had formed, but the great towns of Flanders having sent deputies to clear themselves from all suspicion of being concerned in the assassination, and the citizens of Ghent representing it as the sudden effect of popular fury, his anger gave way to his policy, and he renewed his alliance with them before his departure.

He had proposed to make another expedition into Brittany before his return to his own dominions; but being prevented by contrary winds and stormy weather, he was forced to delay the execution of that enterprize, and directed his course towards England, where he arrived on the twenty-fifth day of July.

Edward's alliance with the Flemings, might have been of great service to his cause, had it not been for a concurrence of untoward events. William II. count of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, lost his life on the twenty-fifth of September, in a battle against some Frisian rebels; William marquis of Juliers and earl of Cambridge died about the same time; John of Hainault abandoned the cause of Edward, and espoused the interest of Philip;



lip; and the rest of the allies were so discouraged by these circumstances, that all thoughts of attacking France on the side of Flanders were entirely laid aside.

But Edward, alike unmoved by these misfortunes, and by the repeated solicitations of the pope, who still laboured to effect an accommodation, resolved to prosecute the war with fresh vigour; and the winter was spent in making the necessary preparations for that purpose. He had ordered his fleet and forces to assemble at Portsmouth, on Midlent-Sunday;\* but his navy being dispersed by a storm, the rendezvous was postponed till the middle of May; and then he was hindered by contrary winds from pursuing his first design of landing in Guienne, which was about this time invaded by John duke of Normandy, with an army of an hundred thousand men.

While he lay wind-bound at Porcestre, with a fleet of a thousand vessels, on board of which were four thousand men at arms, ten thousand archers, and about eighteen thousand infantry, headed by the prince of Wales, and the flower of the English nobility, Godfrey de Harcourt desired him to alter the plan of his operations, and make a descent upon Normandy, of which, he

\* A. D. 1346.

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he assured him, he might make an easy conquest.

This, he told him, he had the greater reason to expect, as the country was intirely drained of its gentlemen, who were all employed in the siege of Aiguillon; as the towns and cities were all unfortified; as the people in general were unaccustomed to arms; and as Philip had rendered himself extremely odious to the inhabitants by his cruel treatment of some of their nobility, and the heavy impositions he had laid upon the subjects, by obliging all persons, without distinction, to buy their salt \* out of his magazines at the exorbitant price he was pleased to fix.

Edward followed his advice, and sailing from St. Helen's on the tenth of July, landed in two days at La Hogue S. Vaast in Normandy. The best part of his fleet he sent back to England; and ordered the earl of Huntingdon with the rest to visit the different ports on the coast, and destroy all the ships which Philip had provided for an invasion of England. This commission he executed with equal spirit and success; and having wasted the country, and burnt the towns along shore, returned to La Hogue,

in  
\* This circumstance gave Edward occasion to make a pun, by calling Philip "the author of the Salic Law."

in order to attend the motions of the land-forces.

As the troops had been so long confined on ship-board, Edward allowed them to rest for six days; and then dividing his army into three bodies began his march towards Valonges, from whence he advanced to Carentan, which opened its gates at his approach.

In this route, he himself commanded the main body, while the earls of Warwick and Godfrey de Harcourt, at the head of the other two divisions, wasted the country on the right and left, where they found great store of provisions, and a considerable booty.

In this manner he proceeded to St. Lo, which submitted after a faint resistance, and continuing his march, arrived before Caen the capital of Lower Normandy on the twenty-sixth day of July.

This place was defended by a strong garrison under the command of the count D'Eu constable of France, and the count de Tancarville chamberlain of Normandy; and the bishop of Bayeux, with several gentlemen of the provence, had thrown themselves into it upon the first approach of the English.

Confiding in their own strength and bravery, they next day sallied forth upon the English, who gave them such a warm reception, that they soon obliged them to retire  
with

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with great precipitation. The constable had proposed to defend the bridge over the river Orne, which for that purpose he had lined with a good body of regular forces; but such was the hurry of the fugitives, that they bore down all before them in their retreat; and the English pursuing with great intrepidity, entered the place along with the vanquished.

The constable and chamberlain, with one hundred knights, and about one hundred and forty gentlemen were taken prisoners; and the greatest part of their forces were put to the sword. The plunder of the city continued for three days successively; and all the booty, with the prisoners of distinction, and three hundred of the richest citizens, were put on board of the fleet lying at the mouth of the Orne, from whence it returned to England laden with the spoils of Normandy.

Philip de Valois was no sooner informed of Edward's descent in Normandy, than he sent messengers to John king of Bohemia, his son Charles king of the Romans, the king of Majorca, the duke of Lorrain, the count of Flanders, and his other allies, desiring them to come to his assistance with the utmost dispatch.

He summoned all the military power of France, except what were engaged in the  
siege

siege of Aiguillon, to attend a general rendezvous at Paris; and in the mean time advanced with a body of troops to Rouen, where he broke down the bridge over the Seine, to prevent the English from passing the river.

The reduction of Caen was immediately followed by the submission of Bayeux and several other towns; and Edward resolving to take advantage of that general terror and consternation which those events had occasioned, directed his march towards Rouen, of which, he hoped, he should soon be able to make himself master.

He was met at Lisieux by two cardinal legates, who earnestly entreated him to agree to a suspension of arms; but regardless of their entreaties, he advanced to the banks of the Seine, which, however, he found it impossible to cross, as Philip had posted himself on the other side with a numerous army.

In order to draw him from this advantageous situation, and provoke him to a battle, he wasted the country under his eye, took Louviers, Vernon, Mante, and Meulan, and reduced a number of villages to ashes. In this manner he continued his march, till he arrived at Poissy, where having repaired the bridge, which had been broken down, he passed the river in the face



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of the militia, which were defeated by the earl of Northampton, and entered Pontoise without opposition.

Mean while Philip had returned to Paris, the inhabitants of which were terribly alarmed at the approach of the English, who had set fire to St. Claud, Bourg-la-Reine, and several other places in the neighbourhood, and even sent some of their detached parties within two leagues of the city. Their fears, however, were soon dispelled by a numerous army which assembled at St. Denis.

Philip, proud of his own strength, and despising the inferior numbers of the enemy, sent a challenge to the king of England, offering to give him battle on any of the four following days, and on the plain of Vaugirard, or between Francoville and Pontoise; and Edward replied, that in all his operations he would follow his own judgment, that Philip should always find him ready for an engagement; but that he would never allow the time and place of battle to be prescribed to him by the enemy.

Mean while, he marched under the walls of Beauvais, the suburbs of which he set on fire; and advanced to Poix, after having defeated the militia of Amiens, and a party of men at arms belonging to the king of Bohemia.

Bohemia. When he came to Ayraines, he began to be distressed for want of provisions, and found himself shut up between the Somme, the sea, and the French army, amounting to one hundred thousand men.

Picquigny and Pont de Remy were too well fortified to be taken by storm : all the other bridges over the river were broken down, except those at Abbeville, which were so strongly guarded, that he had no hopes of effecting a passage, until he arrived at Oyesemont.

There he found a French prisoner, named Gobin Agarre, who, upon obtaining his liberty and the reward of one hundred nobles, undertook to conduct him to a ford where the bottom was sound, and the stream would not reach above the knees at low water. Under the direction of this guide, he decamped from Oyesemont at midnight, and arrived about sun-rise at the ford of Blanchetaque, which he found defended by Godemar de Fray at the head of ten thousand regular troops, reinforced by the militia of the country.

Edward, resolving to pass at all events, was the first man that entered, and ordered his men to follow his example : this they did with great spirit and alacrity, and a desperate engagement immediately ensued ; for the French cavalry, rushing down from the bank,

attacked them in the midst of the river; but being overwhelmed with repeated showers of arrows from the English archers, they were soon repulsed by the men at arms, who forced their way to the other side; and then the enemy fled with great precipitation to Abbeville, where Philip arrived that same evening at the head of a formidable army.

Edward intending to besiege Calais, resolved to proceed thither by slow marches, and to give the enemy battle by the way, if a favourable opportunity should offer. Accordingly he halted the first night at the castle of Noyelle, from whence he detached parties to burn Crotoy, Rue, and Waben; and arrived next day at Crecy, where he encamped on an eminence with a wood in his rear, and placed the baggage waggons on the flanks, in order to prevent a surprise, leaving, however, an opening in his front, that the enemy might attack him, if they thought proper.

While he thus pursued his plan with equal calmness and resolution, Philip thinking that he fled before his arms, determined to overtake and chastise the fugitive, who had committed such terrible havock and devastation in his dominions. With this view he advanced towards the village of Crecy; and Edward being apprized of his approach, drew



drew up his forces, amounting to thirty thousand men, in three separate bodies.

The first line, consisting of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and six thousand Welsh infantry, was commanded by the prince of Wales, just turned of fifteen, assisted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Godfrey de Harcourt, the lords Stafford, Holland, Chandois, Clifford, and the flower of the English nobility.

The second division, composed of eight hundred men at arms, four thousand halberdiers, and two thousand four hundred archers, were led by Richard Fitz-alan earl of Arundel, William Bohun earl of Northumberland, the lords Willoughby, Roos, Multon, Bassett of Sipcote, Sir Lewis Tuston, and a great number of gentlemen.

These two bodies were drawn up on the declivity of a hill in such a manner, as to support each other; and the second extended beyond the first, so as to prevent its being surrounded by the enemy on the left, where it was defended by a semi-circular ditch dug in the night for this purpose, terminating in the park of Crecy, at the small brook of Maye, which waters that village.

The third line, which was posted on the brow of the hill behind the other two, and

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amounted to seven hundred men at arms, five thousand three hundred billmen, and six thousand archers, was headed by the king in person, accompanied by the lords Mowbray, Mortimer, Dagworth, Sir Hugh Hastings, and other noblemen of distinguished bravery. He and the prince of Wales had that morning received the sacrament with great devotion; and indeed his whole behaviour discovered a determined resolution either to conquer or die on the spot.

The army being thus marshalled, the king rode from rank to rank, with a cheerful countenance, exhorting the soldiers to exert their utmost efforts in defending the honour of their country, the rights of their sovereign, and the safety of their own lives; and in order to inspire them with the greater courage and alacrity, he knighted fifty young gentlemen; particularly Sir John Beauchamp, whom he appointed to bear the royal standard in the battle.

Having taken these necessary precautions, he ordered his cavalry to dismount, that the horses might not be fatigued before the action, and his troops to be indulged with a plentiful meal; after which they repaired to their colours, and lay down in their ranks upon the grass to take their repose, that they might be brisk and vigorous

rous at the approach of the enemy, who were yet at a considerable distance.

Philip de Valois had begun his march at sun-rise from Abbeville, with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, about four times the number of the English; and having advanced two leagues, halted to marshal his cavalry, while the infantry proceeded on their march. When he had arrived within five miles of the English, he sent four knights to survey the position of the enemy, which they were suffered to do without molestation.

They were greatly surprized at the profound silence, the admirable order, and determined resolution of the English army; and one of them, the lord Bascle, an old and experienced soldier belonging to the king of Bohemia, assured Philip, that there was no danger of Edward's running away: on the contrary, he told him, that the whole appearance of the English forces discovered such a perfect composure and invincible courage, as ought to make Philip extremely cautious how he began the attack.

He, therefore, advised him to proceed no further that night, but allow his troops to recruit their spirits after the long and tedious march they had performed, otherwise he dreaded the consequence, as they were at present exhausted with hard duty,  
and

and advancing in the utmost confusion and disorder.

Philip was sensible of the propriety of this measure, and immediately sent orders to the several ranks to halt, until they should receive further instructions. The van, indeed, obeyed his commands; but the troops, which formed the centre and rear, being composed of a great number of auxiliaries, conducted by independent princes, who acknowledged no subordination, and contended with each other about the post of honour, they still continued to move, and the whole enormous body was pushed forwards to Crecy in such confusion as rendered them utterly unfit for action. Even Philip, with the princes of the blood, were carried away by the crowd; and he found it impossible to stop their motion, and rectify their disorder, until they came within sight of the English.

Then he endeavoured to draw them up in three bodies, the first of which, conducted by John de Luxemburg king of Bohemia, was composed of three thousand men at arms, twenty-nine thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bows, placed opposite to the English archers. The second division, led by Charles count of Alençon, consisted of four thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand infantry, advanced

vanced in a line with the first battalion. Philip, in person, commanded the third body as a reserve, amounting to twelve thousand men at arms, and fifty thousand foot.

The battle did not begin till three in the afternoon, when Philip ordered the Genoese to advance to the charge; but they were so fatigued with their march, that they begged for a little rest before they should engage. The count of Alençon, upon hearing their request, rode up, and upbraided them with their pusillanimity and cowardice, commanding them to begin the attack without delay.

This they did with great reluctance, and with so much the greater, as an heavy shower of rain, which fell at that instant, rendered their bow-strings unfit for use; so that what with this accident and their own want of spirit, their discharge made little or no impression upon the enemy.

On the other hand, the English archers, who had kept their bows in cases, and were favoured by a sudden gleam of sunshine that flashed in the faces of the enemy, poured in such thick and repeated showers of arrows upon the Genoese, that they betook themselves to a precipitate flight, and were trodden down by the men at arms under the command of the count  
of



of Alençon. That nobleman, taking a compass in order to avoid the bowmen, attacked, with great impetuosity, the body conducted by the prince of Wales, who received the charge with such a determined resolution, that the greatest part of his men were immediately put to the sword.

During this conflict, the squadrons of French and German knights, with a strong body of men at arms, forced their way through the column of English archers, though said to be forty deep, and advanced against the prince of Wales, who was thus in danger of being surrounded by the superior numbers of the enemy. The earl of Warwick, who trembled for his safety, immediately dispatched a messenger to the king, begging he would come to the prince's relief.

Edward, who from the top of a neighbouring windmill surveyed the battle with great tranquillity, was not in the least alarmed at this message. He only asked if his son was dead, wounded, or unhorsed? and being answered in the negative; "Well then," said he to the officer, "go back and tell Warwick, that I reserve the glory of this day for my son; I am confident, that without my assistance, he will be able to repel the enemy; let him shew himself worthy of the honour  
" of

Victory over the French at Cressy.



Engraved for Rider's History of England.



“ of knighthood which he has so lately  
 “ obtained, and win his spurs by his own  
 “ valour.”

By this time the two battalions commanded by prince Edward, and the earls of Arundel and Northampton had joined their ranks, and advanced to attack the main body of the enemy conducted by Philip, who had hitherto been hindered, by the disorderly flight of his first line, from coming up to support the troops, which had been defeated by the English archers.

Here the battle was renewed with fresh fury, Philip himself, the king of Bohemia, his son Charles, and a number of other princes encouraging their soldiers to deeds of glory, not only by their exhortations, but likewise by their feats of personal valour.

Nothing, however, could withstand the ardour and impetuosity of the prince of Wales, who, flushed with his late success, impelled by his own innate courage, and still farther inspired by the message he had received from his father, rushed forward like an irresistible torrent, and bore down all opposition.

The old king of Bohemia, who was blind from age, enquiring about the fortune of the day, was told that the French were thrown into the utmost disorder; a great number

number of noblemen slain; that his son Charles had been forced to quit the field, dangerously wounded; that the English had committed a terrible slaughter; and that the prince of Wales, like a destroying angel, carried death and destruction wherever he came. Upon this information, John ordered his knights to lead him into the thickest of the fight against the young hero.

Accordingly four of his attendants, placing him in the middle, and tying the bridles of their horses together, in order to prevent their being separated, they plunged into the hottest of the battle; and the old king, having interchanged a few strokes with Edward, was instantly felled to the ground, and buried in the general carnage.\*

Philip himself, after having lost two horses, and being dangerously wounded in the neck and thigh, was at length carried out of the field by John of Hainault, and the standard of France was immediately beaten down. This entirely determined the fate

\* He wore three ostrich feathers for his crest; and as he acted in the capacity of a volunteer, he took the motto *Ich dien*, which, in the German language, signifies, "I serve." This device young Edward assumed to himself, in memory of this glorious day; and it has been adopted by all the succeeding princes of Wales.



fate of the battle: the enemy laid aside all thoughts of further resistance, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight; and, indeed, great numbers of them might have escaped by favour of the approaching night, had not the king of England caused large fires to be made upon the adjacent hills, by the light of which the victors prevented them from rallying or uniting their scattered forces, and hewed them to pieces without opposition.

Edward, seeing the victory complete, came down from his station, and, taking his helmet from his head, ran up to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced tenderly in sight of the whole army, saying, "My valiant son, God grant you may persevere in the course you have so gloriously begun. You are my son indeed! nobly have you acquitted yourself to-day; and well do you deserve the crown to which you was born." The prince, whose modesty was equal to his valour, made no other answer than that of a low obeisance, and, falling on his knees, implored his father's blessing.

In this battle, which was fought on the twenty-sixth day of August, John king of Bohemia, James king of Majorca, Ralph duke of Lorrain, the counts of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, Harcourt,

Auxerre, Aumale, St. Pol, Sancerre, and many other French noblemen, twenty-four bannerets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and thirty thousand infantry are said to have fallen, while the loss of the English was, in comparison, extremely inconsiderable.

Edward, having ordered his men to keep a strict guard all night, lest the French should rally, and return to the charge, detached a party of five hundred lances, and two thousand archers in the morning to pursue the fugitives, and they meeting in a fog with the militia of Rouen and Beauvais, who were coming to the assistance of Philip, routed them at the first attack. The archbishop of Rouen and the grand prior of France, advancing at the head of another reinforcement, were likewise defeated and slain with two thousand of their followers.

Nor was this all: the English had recourse to a stratagem, which decoyed an immense number of the enemy into their hands. Having gathered the French standards that lay scattered on the field, and erected them on a neighbouring hill, the enemy flocked to them in great crowds, and were instantly hewn in pieces without mercy; and indeed no quarter was given in this  
action

action either by the victors or the vanquished; a horrid and barbarous practice, tho', in order to lessen the blame of Edward, it must be observed, that this strict order is said to have been first issued by Philip.

Though Edward refused mercy to the living, he treated the dead with great humanity: he sent back the body of John king of Bohemia to his family; he caused the field of battle to be consecrated; attended the funerals of the noblemen who had lost their lives in the action; and ordered the common soldiers to be interred with great decency.

Having spent three whole days in the performance of these pious duties, he continued his march to Calais, which he invested on the third day of September. This place was defended by a strong garrison under the command of John de Vienne, a gallant knight of Burgundy, who being amply provided with every thing necessary for a vigorous resistance, encouraged the inhabitants to exert their utmost efforts in the service of their king and country.

Edward, sensible of the utter impossibility of taking the place by storm, resolved to starve it into a surrender. With this view he encamped his army in an advantageous station; surrounded the whole town with deep entrenchments; built huts for the

tion of his soldiers, which he covered with straw or broom; and furnished his forces with all conveniences to enable them to endure the severity of the winter, which was now approaching.

The governour, who soon perceived his intencion, sent above seventeen hundred useless mouths out of the town; and the king had the generosity to allow these unhappy people to pass through his camp, after having supplied them with money to defray the expence of their journey.

While Edward was employed in this siege, which lasted near a twelvemonth, there happened in various places many other events; and all to the honour of the English arms.

The retreat of the duke of Normandy from Guienne, left the earl of Lancaster entire master of the field; and he did not fail to improve such a favourable opportunity. He took Mirebeau and Lusignan by assault: Taillebourg and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands: Poitiers surrendered at the first summons; and the earl having thus dismantled all the frontiers on that side, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and spread terror and desolation through all that part of the French dominions.

At the same time, the war was renewed in Brittany. Charles de Blois invaded that province at the head of a numerous army, and laid siege to the fortress of Roche de Rien; but the countess of Montfort, having received a reinforcement of English troops, under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him in the night, routed his army, and took himself prisoner.

His wife, in whose right he laid claim to the duchy, urged by the present necessity, assumed the reigns of government, and proved a powerful rival to the countess of Montfort both in the field and the cabinet. And while these two illustrious heroines astonished the world by their military feats and prudent conduct, the queen of England shewed herself to be possessed of no less distinguished abilities.

The Scotch nation, after having, for a number of years, maintained their liberties with incredible perseverance, against the superior force of the English, at last recalled their king David de Brus from France. Though that prince was neither qualified by his age nor his talents, to bring any considerable assistance to the Scots, he yet gave them the sanction of royal authority; and as Edward's wars with the French employed the greatest part of his forces, they



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rendered the ballance between the two kingdoms more equal and uniform.

In all the truces which Edward made with Philip, the king of Scotland was included; and when Edward undertook his last expedition into France, David was strongly solicited by his ally to invade the northern counties of England. The Scottish nobility being always prone to such incursions, David soon assembled an army of fifty thousand men, with which he entered Northumberland, and ravaged the whole country as far as Durham.

Queen Philippa collecting a body of about sixteen thousand men, the command of which she committed to the lord Piercy, ventured to approach him at Neville's-Cross near that city; and riding through the ranks of the army, encouraged the soldiers to exert their utmost efforts in defending their country, and repelling these barbarous invaders: nor could she be persuaded to quit the field, till the two armies were on the point of engaging.

The Scots had generally been unsuccessful in the great pitched battles which they fought with the English; but never did they receive a more terrible overthrow than the present. They were immediately routed and chased off the field: fifteen thousand, or according to some historians, twenty

ty thousand of them were left dead upon the spot; among whom were Edward Keith, earl mareschal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor; and the king himself was taken prisoner, together with the earls of Sutherland, Fife, Montith, Carrac, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen.

Philippa having committed her royal prisoner to the Tower, went over to the Continent; and was received in the English camp before Calais with all the respect and deference which her high rank, her great merit, and her signal success so amply deserved.

The inhabitants of this place had now held out with invincible obstinacy for a considerable length of time; and Philip being apprized of their wretched condition, resolved at last to march to their relief. Accordingly, having assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, he advanced to the English camp, which he found so well secured by entrenchments, and encompassed with morasses, that he could not attempt to force it, without exposing himself to the most imminent danger of a defeat. In this dilemma he had no other resource than to send a challenge to his rival, offering to fight him in the open field; and this being refused, he was obliged

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liged to retire with his troops, which he dispersed into several provinces.

The governour of Calais, seeing all hopes of relief entirely vanished, resolved to deliver up the place, which was now reduced to the last extremity, by famine and sickness. He appeared on the walls, and made a signal to the English centinels that he desired a conference. Sir Walter Manny being sent to him by Edward; "Gallant knight," said the governour, "I have been entrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town, which you have invested for almost a twelve-month, and, during that time, I, my garrison, and the inhabitants have all endeavoured to do our duty to our king and country. You are no stranger to our present condition: we are entirely destitute of all hopes of relief: we are perishing with hunger; I am therefore willing to deliver up the place upon this single condition, that the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me in every danger and difficulty, be safe and secure."

Manny assured him that the king of England would never consent to such a condition; that he was highly enraged against the townsmen of Calais for their long and obstinate resistance, which had exposed the  
the

the English to such hardships and calamities : that he was fully resolved to punish them in an exemplary manner ; and that he would agree to no other terms than that of their surrendering at discretion. “ Consider,” replied Vienne, “ that brave men “ are entitled to a more honourable treatment : if any English knight had been “ in my situation, your king would have “ expected from him the same conduct “ which I have observed. The behaviour “ of the Calisians deserves the esteem and “ and approbation of every sovereign, and “ especially of such a valiant and heroic “ prince as Edward. But, be assured, that “ if we must die, we shall not die unrevenged ; nor are we as yet reduced to “ such a low condition, but that we can “ sell our lives at a high price to the “ conquerors. It is not the interest of either side to bring matters to these extremities ; and, I hope, that yourself, brave “ knight, will use your good offices with “ your sovereign in our behalf.”

Manny was convinced of the justness of these sentiments, and endeavoured to divert the king from his cruel purpose of sacrificing all the inhabitants of Calais. Edward was at last persuaded to soften the severity of the conditions : he only demanded that six of the most substantial citizens

tizens should be sent him to be disposed of according to his pleasure; and that they should come to his camp carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks; and on these terms he consented to indulge the rest with a pardon.

When the inhabitants of Calais were informed of this cruel resolution, they were seized with a general panic and consternation. To devote six of their fellow-citizens to certain death for their brave and gallant behaviour, was, in their opinion, more hard and severe than the universal massacre with which they had formerly been threatened; and in this dreadful dilemma they found themselves incapable of coming to any fixed determination.

At last, one of the principal citizens, named Pierre de St. Eustace, whose memory deserves to be held in eternal veneration, stepped forth, and professed himself ready to suffer death for the preservation of his friends and companions: another, encouraged by his example, made the like generous offer: a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was in a short time completed.

These six heroic burghers, whose merit has seldom been equalled, and never exceeded



ceeded by any worthies either in ancient or modern story, repaired to the English camp in the guise of malefactors, laid the keys of the city at the feet of Edward, and with a bold and determined air expected their final sentence. The king, who was highly incensed at the length and difficulty of the siege, ordered them to be carried away to immediate execution; nor could all the remonstrances and entreaties of his courtiers divert him from his cruel purpose.

But what neither a regard to his own interest and honour, what neither the dictates of justice, nor the feelings of humanity could effect, was happily accomplished by the more powerful influence of conjugal affection. The queen, who was then big with child, being informed of these proceedings, flew into her husband's presence, threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, besought him not to stain his character with an indelible mark of infamy, by committing such a horrid and barbarous deed.

Edward could refuse nothing to a spouse whom he tenderly loved, and especially to one in her condition; and the queen, not satisfied with having saved the lives of the six burghers, conducted them to her tent, where she regaled them with a plentiful

tiful repast, and, after having made them a present of money and cloaths, sent them back to their fellow-citizens.

Edward having thus made himself master of Calais, began to concert the means of securing the possession of that important fortress. He knew, that, notwithstanding his pretended claim to the crown of France, every native of the country bore him a mortal aversion; he therefore expelled the inhabitants of Calais, and peopled it from England; and afterwards established in this place a staple of tin, lead, wool, and leather, which redounded greatly to the advantage of his subjects.\*

In the beginning of the following year,† the pope's legates interposed their good offices so effectually, that a truce was concluded between France and England; but even

\* About this time, Edward received a splendid embassy, composed of the archbishop of Mentz, Rodolph and Rupert counts palatine of the Rhine and dukes of Bavaria, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the dukes of the Higher and Lower Saxony, offering him the imperial crown of Germany. But this tempting offer he refused to accept, as it would have been utterly incompatible with his scheme upon France, and might possibly have involved him not only in a quarrel with the pope, who supported the claim of Charles IV. elected by another party of the German princes, but also in a new and distant war, the expence of which he was not able to maintain.

† A. D. 1348.

even during this suspension of arms, Edward had nearly lost Calais, the sole fruit of all his late victories. He had bestowed the command of that place upon Aimery de Pavie, an Italian, a man possessed of great personal courage, and military skill, but utterly destitute of every principle of honour and fidelity.

Aimery agreed to betray Calais to the enemy, for the sum of twenty thousand golden crowns; and Geoffry de Charni, who commanded the French troops in those parts, concluded the bargain with him, well knowing, that if he succeeded in the attempt, he would easily obtain the approbation of his master.

Edward being apprized of this plot, by means of Aimery's secretary, sent for that officer to London, and having reproached him with his treachery, promised him his life, on condition that he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian readily agreed to this proposal.

A day was fixed for the admission of the French; and Edward having prepared a body of eight hundred men at arms, and one thousand archers under Sir Walter de Manny, secretly departed from London, accompanied by the prince of Wales; and

without being suspected, arrived the evening before at Calais.

He immediately took post in the Donjon or Great Tower that commanded the rest of the citadel; and kept all his forces and the garrison under arms. On the approach of Charni, a choice troop of French soldiers was admitted at the postern, and Aimery, receiving the stipulated sum, engaged that with their assistance, he would presently open the great gate to the main body of the enemy, who were waiting with impatience for the performance of his promise.

All the French, who had entered, were immediately taken prisoners; and the great gate being opened, Edward sallied out with irresistible fury upon Charni, who, surprized and confounded, as he was, at this unexpected event, made a gallant defence, and maintained his ground till the morning.

The king, who fought as a private man under the standard of Sir Walter de Manny, observing a French gentleman, called Eustace de Ribaultmont, who exerted himself with uncommon courage, was desirous of trying a single combat with such a brave and gallant knight.

Accordingly, he stepped forth from his troop, and challenging Ribaultmont by name, began

began a sharp and desperate encounter. Twice was he beat to the ground by the strokes of his antagonist; and as oft did he recover himself: blows were redoubled with equal force on both sides; and the victory remained a long time undecided; till at length Ribaumont seeing himself abandoned by almost all his companions, called out to Edward, "Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner," and immediately delivered his sword to the king.

Charni, with those who survived, finding their retreat cut off by another detachment, and the English continually reinforced by fresh parties from the town, surrendered at discretion; and being conducted into Calais, were magnificently entertained by Edward, who then first acquainted them, that he himself had been present in the action.

He declared Ribaumont the bravest knight he had ever encountered, adjudged him the prize of chivalry above all the knights of his court, and restored him to his liberty without ransom. He then deprived Aimery of the government of Calais, which he conferred upon Sir John Beauchamp, and returned to England, where he amply rewarded those who had distinguished themselves in this expedition.\*

G 2

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The king had always entertained a great affection for the castle of Windsor, as the place of his birth. He had for a long time past been beautifying and adorning it with magnificent buildings and fortifications; he had rebuilt the chapel, which he dedicated to the virgin Mary, St. George, and St. Edward the Confessor, and he now made it the seat of a military order, which he founded in honour of St. George the patron of England.

A garter of blue velvet, with the inscription *Honi soit qui mal y pense\**, was the symbol

\* Historians are greatly divided in their opinions about the origin of the symbol, as well as the motto of this order. Some affirm, that Edward pitched upon the garter, because in the battle of Crécy he had given garter for the word. Some alledge he did so, because on that day he had ordered his garter to be fixed to the end of a lance for the signal of battle.

Others pretend, that Edward only revived and regulated an order of knighthood instituted by Richard I. at the siege of Acres in Palestine. Richard, they say, resolving to storm the town, distributed among some of his principal officers certain leathern strings to be tied about their legs, the better to distinguish them during the assault, and that Edward instituted the order of the garter in memory of this event.

Others suppose, that Edward chose a blue garter for the symbol of the order for no other reason, but because that colour has always been deemed the emblem of fidelity and friendship; and that the motto was meant as a solemn assurance of good faith and hospitality towards his own knights, and a severe  
sarcastm

symbol of union and concord chosen for this noble fraternity, which from hence was called the Order of the Garter. It consisted originally, as it still does, of the king of England as sovereign, and five and twenty knights companions.\*

G 3

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sarcasm upon the perfidy and treachery of his rival Philip de Valois, who seized the lords of the Montfort party, while they were under the protection of a safe-conduct, and had been invited to his court to assist at a festival of the like nature.

But the most probable opinion is, that this circumstance took its rise from an affair of gallantry. The story runs thus: Edward's mistress, the countess of Salisbury, happening to drop her garter, while she was dancing at a court-ball, the king picked it up, and observing some of his courtiers to smile, as if he had not obtained this favour merely by accident, he called out *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; and instituted the order of the garter, to perpetuate the memory of this event.

\* The curious reader, we imagine, will not be displeased to see the names of the first members of this illustrious order: these were; Edward III. king of England, Edward his son prince of Wales, Edward his cousin duke of Lancaster, Thomas Beauchamp earl of Warwick, Ralph earl of Stafford, William Montague earl of Salisbury, Roger Mortimer earl of March, John de Greilly Captal de Buche, John lord L'Isle, Bartholomew lord Burghersh, John lord Beauchamp, John lord Mohun, Hugh lord Courtney, Thomas lord Holland, John lord Grey, Sir Richard Fitz-simon, Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir Thomas Wale, Sir Hugh Wriothesley, Sir Niel Loring, John lord Chandos, James lord

On the festival of St. George in this year they walked bareheaded in procession, clad in gowns of russet, and mantles of fine blue woolen cloths, with the rest of the habit of the order, to St. George's Chapel, where they heard mass read by William Edendon, bishop of Winchester, prelate of the order; and after divine service, returned to a sumptuous entertainment.

The solemnity concluded with military sports of tournaments, at which David Bruce, with other prisoners of distinction, both French and Scots, were allowed to assist. And, indeed, in these diversions Edward spent the greatest part of his time, when he was not engaged in foreign wars, nor employed in the affairs of government.

But the joy and triumph which reigned in the court of England, was suddenly changed into sorrow and mourning by a terrible and destructive pestilence, which invaded that kingdom, as well as the rest of Europe; and is supposed to have carried off about one fourth of the inhabitants, in every country where it prevailed.

In the first six months of this year, seven and fifty thousand persons are said to have died of it in Norwich and London; and

lord Audely, Sir Otho Holland, Sir Henry Eame of Brabant, Sir Sancho d'Ambricourt, and Sir William Pavely. *Ashmole's Hist. of the Garter.*

and the church-yards not being sufficient for the burial of the dead, Sir Walter de Manny bought thirteen acres of ground, belonging to St. Bartholomew's hospital in Smithfield, to serve for the interment of those who perished by the plague, which no sooner ceased, than he founded on the spot a convent of Carthusians.

This dreadful distemper spread into Wales and Ireland, and proved chiefly fatal to the common people, and of these to the old men, women and children. None of the better sort died of the infection, except three or four of the nobility, and Jane the king's second daughter, who was seized with it at Bourdeaux in her way to Castile, where she was to have been married to the infant don Pedro, son of Alphonso XI. sovereign of that kingdom.

When the contagion among the human species abated, the sheep and cattle perished in vast numbers; and no bird or beast of prey would touch their carcases, which lay putrifying upon the surface of the ground, and by their intolerable stench contributed to increase the pernicious quality of the air. The corn was lost for want of hands to reap and gather it, and hence ensued a dreadful dearth of all kinds of provisions.

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The Scots, tempted by the prospect of an easy prey, in this season of death and desolation, made an irruption into the northern counties; and, together with a large booty, carried back the contagion to their own country, where it raged with uncommon violence. This terrible calamity, rather than the pacific dispositions of the contending princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England.\*

About this period Philip de Valois died, without being able to restore the public tranquillity of his kingdom, which his bad success against England had involved in the utmost disorder and confusion. This prince, in the beginning of his reign, had obtained the name of Fortunate, and acquired the character of prudent; but he ill supported either the one or the other; though his bad success was less owing to his own want of courage and conduct, than to the better fortune and superior abilities of his rival Edward.

But the misfortunes which happened in the reign of his son and successor, John, gave the French nation reason to regret even the calamitous times of Philip de Valois. John was possessed of many excellent virtues, particularly of a high sense  
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\* A. D. 1350.



of honour, and an inviolable regard for good faith and sincerity; but he was utterly destitute of that sagacity and penetration which the situation of his affairs required, and for want of which his kingdom was involved in all the miseries of foreign wars, and intestine commotions.

The chief cause of his misfortunes was Charles king of Navarre, commonly called the Bad or Wicked, and whose actions rendered him but too worthy of that appellation. Charles was descended from the blood royal of France, by his mother a daughter of Lewis Hutin; he himself had married a daughter of king John: but all these ties, which ought to have attached him more firmly to the throne, gave him only a greater power, and, one would almost be tempted to think, a greater inclination, to shake and overthrow it.\*

The constable d'Eu, who had been taken prisoner by Edward at Caen, obtained his liberty, on promise of surrendering to that prince as his ransom, the town of Guisnes near Calais, of which he was the superior: but as John took umbrage at this agreement, which, if performed, would have laid his dominions more open to the enemy, and as he had reason to think that the constable had entered into more dangerous connexion

\* A. D. 1354.

connexions with Edward, he caused him to be apprehended, and, without any form of trial, put him to death in prison.

Charles de la Cerda succeeded him in the office of constable; and met with the like unhappy fate, being murdered by the order of the king of Navarre: and such was the weakness of the crown, that this prince, far from deprecating the punishment due to his crime, would not so much as consent to ask pardon for his offence, until he had obtained an accession of territory, and got the king's son into his hands as a security for his person; after which he repaired to court, and performed this ridiculous act of sorrow and humiliation in the royal presence.

By this means a perfect harmony and concord seemed to be established between the two French princes; but this agreement was of very short duration. The king of Navarre, conscious of his own guilt, and dreading the vengeance which his many crimes and misdemeanours so amply deserved, resolved to screen himself from the impending danger, by forming an alliance with some foreign monarch.\*

With this view he entered into a secret correspondence with Edward, who in consideration of certain concessions made him

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by Charles, promised to assist him with all his forces, as soon as the truce between France and England should be expired. He likewise drew over to his side Geoffrey de Harcourt, and several other French noblemen, by which means he added greatly to the strength of his party. He had even the address to engage in his interest Charles, the king of France's eldest son, a youth in the eighteenth year of his age, and the first that bore the name of Dauphin, by the re-union of the province of Dauphiny to the crown.

But this prince, though at first led astray by the violence of his own passions, and the artful insinuations of his pretended friends, no sooner began to reflect upon his conduct, than he perceived the folly of the step he had taken, and resolved to atone for his offence by sacrificing his associates. Accordingly, in concert with his father, he invited the king of Navarre, and other noblemen of the party, to an entertainment at Rouën, where they were arrested and thrown into prison. The count of Harcourt, with the lord of Graville and two gentlemen, were forthwith beheaded, and the king of Navarre sent to the chatelet in Paris, from whence he was afterwards removed to Arleux in Artois, where he remained in close confinement.

But

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But this act of severity in the king, and of treachery in the dauphin, instead of strengthening the royal authority, served only to weaken and impair it. Philip of Navarre, brother to Charles, and Geoffry de Harcourt, fortified all the towns and castles belonging to that prince, and immediately applied to Edward for assistance.

The truce between the two crowns being now expired, Edward was at full liberty to prosecute the designs he had formed upon the crown of France. Overjoyed to find that the intestine commotions in that kingdom had gained him some friends and adherents, which all his pretensions to the crown had never been able to procure him, he resolved to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne under the command of the prince of Wales, and on that of Calais in his own person.

Young Edward, embarking his forces on board of a fleet of three hundred ships, set sail in September from the port of Plymouth, attended by the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Oxford, Suffolk, and other persons of distinction; and, landing at Bourdeaux, was joined by the most considerable of the Gascon nobility.

Being now at the head of an army, amounting to sixty thousand men, he began

gan his march towards Armagnac, which, together with Astarac, Cominges, La Reviere, and L'isle en Jourdain, he wasted with fire and sword, plundering the inhabitants, demolishing the fortresses, and reducing the towns and villages to ashes. He next advanced to Thoulouse, where he endeavoured in vain to draw the enemy to a battle.

He then passed the Garonne, and burned the suburbs of Carcassonne: he even penetrated to Narbonne, and ravaged the whole country around him; and after an expedition of six weeks, returned with an immense booty and a great number of prisoners to Guienne, where he put his troops into winter quarters. The constable of Bourbon, who commanded in those provinces, was strictly enjoined, though at the head of a superior army, not to run the risk of a general engagement.

The king's invasion from Calais was conducted with the same spirit, and crowned with the like success. He broke into France at the head of a formidable army, to whom he gave a full liberty of pillaging and wasting the open country. He proceeded to St. Omer, where the king of France lay encamped; and on the retreat of that prince, pursued him to Hesdin.



John was extremely anxious to avoid a general action; yet, in order to save appearances, he sent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him; a common bravado in those times, but absolutely inconsistent with the art of war, and which seems to have taken its rise from the practice of single combat. Edward having waited a whole day in expectation of the French monarch, returned to Calais, from whence he went over to England to secure that kingdom against a threatened incursion of the Scots.

The Scots, tempted by the prospect of a large booty, and encouraged by the absence of the king, the nobility, and the military power of England, had surprized the town of Berwick, and assembled a numerous army in order to invade the northern counties: but, on the approach of Edward, they abandoned that place which was not tenable, while the English were in possession of the castle; and taking shelter among their woods and fastnesses, gave the enemy an opportunity of ravaging, unmolested, the whole country as far as Edinburgh.

Baliol accompanied the king in this expedition; but finding that his constant attachment to Edward had entirely ruined his interest in his own country, and that he  
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himself was now oppressed with age and infirmities, he resigned his title to the crown of Scotland in favour of the English monarch, who, in consideration of this cession, granted him a pension of two thousand pounds a year, paid all his debts, and presented him with the sum of five thousand marks, as a reward for his faithful services.

Mean while, Edward received intelligence of the critical situation of his affairs in France, and immediately dispatched the earl of Lancaster with a small body of troops to assist his friends in Normandy.

The campaign was entirely spent in slight skirmishes and sudden incursions, which were attended with various success, though generally to the disadvantage of the English; till, at last, an important event happened in the other part of the kingdom, which involved the whole country in the utmost disorder and confusion, and had almost overturned the monarchy of France.

The prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the last campaign, took the field, in the month of July,\* at the head of two thousand men at arms, six thousand archers, and four thousand infantry. Passing through the Agenois, he wasted Quer-

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\* A. D. 1356.

cy, the Limousin, and Auvergne; advanced into Berry, made some unsuccessful attacks upon Bourges and Issodun, and took Vierzon by assault.

Here he first learned that the king of France was posted at Chartres, with a numerous army, assembled from all parts of his kingdom. John imagining that Edward intended to cross the Loire, and join the duke of Lancaster in Normandy, had disposed his forces in such a manner, as to guard all the towns and passages on that river; and the prince of Wales, apprized of this circumstance, determined to turn off on the left to Romorantin, lay waste Poitou, and return through Saintogne to Bourdeaux.

Three hundred lances, commanded by the lords of Crain and Boucocaut and the hermit of Chaumont, endeavouring to cut off his advanced guard, were instantly routed, and took refuge in the castle of Romorantin, where, in a few days, they were forced to surrender at discretion.

The prince in his march had taken about six thousand men at arms, who were sent prisoners to Bourdeaux, and ravaged the country to a great extent. Passing through part of Touraine and Anjou, south of the Loire, he now advanced into Poitou; and, on Saturday the seventh day of Septem-

September, encamped between Beauvoir and Maupertuis, within two leagues of Poitiers.

The king of France, arriving with an army of sixty thousand horse, besides infantry, held a council of war, in which it was agreed to attack the English the next morning. Edward was already so distressed for want of provisions, that, in a few days, he might have been starved into a surrender; but the French presuming on their own valour, and trusting to their great superiority of numbers, demanded a battle with so much ardour, that John was obliged to comply with their request.

He divided his army into three bodies; the first and most advanced of which was conducted by his brother the duke of Orleans; the second was posted on the left, under the command of the dauphin, assisted by his brothers Lewis and John; and the king in person, attended by his youngest son Philip, headed the third division as a body of reserve.

While the constable and mareschals were drawing up the troops, John sent the lords of Ribaultmont, Landas, and Beaujeu, to reconnoitre the order and disposition of the enemy, whom they found posted among bushes, hedges, and vineyards, so as to be absolutely inaccessible, except by a narrow

lane, hardly capable of admitting four men a-breast, and lined with thick hedges, behind which a body of English archers was placed to defend the passage. Ribaumont was of opinion, that all the cavalry should be obliged to dismount, except about three hundred chosen men in complete armour, who should enter the defile, sustain the first fury of the enemy's onset, and make way for the dismounted cavaliers to advance to the charge.

This advice was approved ; the three hundred men were chosen, and armed for the purpose ; and all the rest of the troops were ordered to attack on foot, except a few German squadrons which remained on horseback to be employed occasionally, as the necessity of affairs might require.

While the two armies were on the point of engaging, the governor of Perigort, commissioned by the pope to renew the negotiations for a peace between the two crowns, ran up to the king, and earnestly entreated him not to sacrifice the lives of so many French gentlemen as must necessarily be slain in the attack ; adding, that if he were allowed to go to the English camp, he hoped he should be able to persuade the prince of Wales to surrender.

John agreeing to the proposal, the cardinal repaired to Edward, who, fully sensible  
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of the imminent danger to which he was exposed, declared himself ready to accept of any terms that should not be inconsistent with his own honour, and that of his country.

This answer being reported to John, he sent back his troops to their quarters; and the cardinal spent the whole day in passing between the two camps, to adjust the articles of accommodation.

The prince of Wales promised, that provided he might be allowed to retire unmolested to Bourdeaux, he would restore all the places and prisoners he had taken in that campaign, and engage not to serve against France for the space of seven years.

But John peremptorily insisted upon Edward's surrendering himself prisoner, with an hundred knights, in which case the English army might pursue their march without molestation. The prince, instead of agreeing to this proposal, told the cardinal, that he and his knights should never be taken but in battle; and that he would rather lose his life than accept of such dishonourable terms.

This resolution cut off all hopes of accommodation, and both sides prepared for an engagement; tho' Edward reaped some benefit from the delay, which gave him an opportunity of fortifying his camp with ditches  
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and palisadoes, so as to render it almost impregnable.

On Monday morning the French troops were drawn out into the field in the order of battle we have already described; and Edward divided his small army into three distinct bodies, but ranged in such a close and compact manner, that they seemed to form one square battalion. His front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges, and his flanks were secured on one side by a mountain, and on the other by a morass.

On the declivity of the hill the van was placed under the conduct of the earl of Warwick; the rear was commanded by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk; and the main body, which reached from the end of the lane to a neighbouring vineyard, was headed by the prince in person; and John de Greilly Capal de Buche was detached with three hundred men at arms, and as many archers, to lie in ambush at the foot of the mountain, and fall upon the back of the enemy in the heat of the action.

Before the charge was sounded, Edward rode up to the several ranks, and exhorted the men to exert their utmost efforts in preserving their own lives, and maintaining the honour of their country, assuring them that England should never be obliged to pay his ransom, for that he was fully de-

determined either to conquer or die on the spot.

Both sides having thus made the necessary preparations, the battle began about nine o'clock in the morning. The three hundred Frenchmen entered the lane with great resolution; but they were so galled by the English archers that lined the hedges, that one half of them were slain before they reached the front of Edward's main body, where they were hewn in pieces by an advanced party under the command of the lord Audeley.

The mareschals Clermont and Andrehan coming up close behind the first body, were greatly incommoded in their march by the carcasses of the men and horses that were killed, which choaked up the passage, while the archers poured in upon them repeated showers of arrows.

When they advanced to the van of the English, they were warmly received by the earl of Warwick; and Salisbury and Suffolk hastening up from the rear, completed the confusion. Clermont was killed upon the spot, and Andrehan was felled to the ground by the lord Audeley, and taken prisoner.

The death of these noblemen, and the terrible carnage that ensued, struck their followers with such a panic, that they  
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were instantly thrown into confusion, and betook themselves to a precipitate flight.

The first body of the French being thus routed, the dauphin advanced to the charge, though his men were greatly discouraged by the defeat of their companions, and they were hardly recovered from the surprize which that event had occasioned, when John de Greilly issuing forth from his ambush, attacked their rear with such impetuosity, that they immediately fell into disorder, and fled with great precipitation.

The lords of Landas, Bodenay, and St. Venant, who were particularly charged with the care of the dauphin and his brothers, carried them off the field to Chauvigny, under a guard of eight hundred lances; and the duke of Orleans, with the greatest part of his division, which had not yet engaged, thought proper to follow the same course.

The lord Chandos called out to Edward that the day was won, and advised him to attack the main body of the French under king John, which, though more numerous than the whole English army, were greatly dispirited by the flight of their countrymen.

John exerted his utmost efforts in order to regain by his valour, what he had lost by his misconduct; and the only resistance made that day was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales fell with irresistible impetuosity

osity upon some German cavalry posted in the front, and commanded by the counts of Sallebruche, Nydo, and Nosto: a fierce battle ensued: the one side were animated by the hopes of obtaining a complete victory: the other side were retained by the shame of yielding the day to an enemy so much inferior: but the three German generals, together with the constable of Athenes, being slain, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king exposed to the whole fury of the enemy.

The ranks were every moment mowed down around him: the nobles fell by his side one after another: his son, who was only in the fourteenth year of his age, received a wound, while he was fighting bravely in defence of his father. The king being exhausted with fatigue, and overpowered by numbers, might have been easily killed; but every English gentleman, desirous of taking the royal prisoner alive, spared him in the action, called out to him to surrender, and offered him quarter; and several, who endeavoured to seize him, lost their lives in the attempt. He still cried out, "Where is my cousin the prince of Wales?" and seemed unwilling to yield himself to any person of inferior rank; but hearing that Edward was in another part of the field, he threw down his gauntlet, and surrendered himself



himself to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras, who had been obliged to fly his country for manslaughter. His son Philip was taken with him.

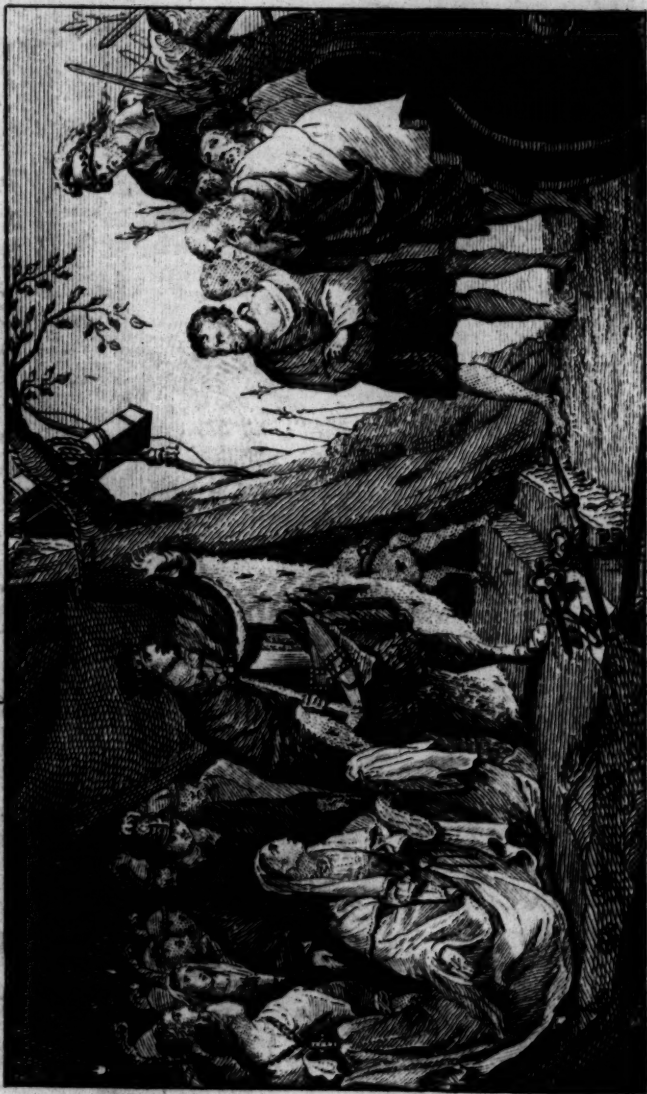
The prince of Wales, who had been carried to a great distance in pursuit of the flying foe, seeing the victory completely gained, had caused a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the fatigue of the battle, when he heard of the fate of the French monarch. He instantly dispatched the earl of Warwick to take care of the royal prisoner: and that nobleman arrived in time to save the life of the king, which was now exposed to greater danger than it had been during the heat of the action.

The English had taken him by force from Morbec: the Gascons claimed the honour of keeping the captive; and some brutal soldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, threatened to put him to death. Warwick's arrival put an end to the dispute: both parties were so over-awed by his presence, that they delivered him quietly into his hands, and he immediately conducted him to the prince's tent.

The glory of conquest Edward shared in common with other warriors both in ancient and modern times; but the moderation and humanity which he discovered on the present occasion, were entirely peculiar to himself,  
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*The Surrender of Calais to H. Edward the 3., Anno 1347.*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England.*

and rendered him more famous and illustrious than any other hero that ever attracted the admiration of mankind. Many conquerors have taken kings in battle ; but never did any conqueror treat his prisoners with that politeness and respect which Edward now shewed to the French monarch.

He came forth to meet him with all the marks of the most sincere regard and tender affection ; he administered comfort to him amidst his misfortunes, paid him the tribute of praise that was due to his valour, and ascribed his own success merely to the blind chance of war, or to the decrees of a superior providence, which confounds the schemes of the wisest generals, and baffles the efforts of the boldest warriors.

Nor did John behave in such a manner as to shew himself unworthy of this generous treatment : conquered and a prisoner, as he was, he never forgot that he was a king ; more deeply affected by Edward's humanity than his own calamities, he frankly acknowledged, that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honour was still unblemished ; and that, if he had yielded the victory, he had done it to the bravest and most accomplished prince upon earth.

Edward caused an elegant entertainment to be prepared in his tent for the prisoners ; and he himself waited upon the royal captive

tive at table as if he had been one of his domestics; he stood at the king's back during the meal, and constantly refused to sit down, declaring that, as he was a subject, he was too sensible of the great distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty, to take such a freedom.

The French noblemen, who had been taken in the battle, were struck with astonishment at this instance of magnanimity and greatness of soul. They looked upon him as a being of some superior species; and while they expressed their admiration of his excellent virtues, could not help lamenting the fate of their country, which was exposed to the resentment of an enemy of such distinguished abilities.

All the English and Gascon knights followed the example of their prince; the prisoners were every where treated with humanity, and were soon after restored to their liberty on paying moderate ransoms, no more being demanded of them than they could easily afford. Yet, so numerous were the noble captives, that their ransoms, added to the spoils of the field, were sufficient to enrich the prince's army; and as they had lost but few men in the battle, their joy and triumph was complete.

Edward retired with his prisoner to Bourdeaux; and as he had not an army sufficient  
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to improve his present advantages, he agreed to a truce for two years, with so much the greater readiness, that he might have an opportunity of conducting his royal captive to England, where he landed in the beginning of May \*.

He no sooner arrived at Southwark, than he was met by a prodigious number of people of all ranks and conditions. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white courser, remarkable for its size and beauty, and for the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner garb, and carried by a black palfry in ordinary trappings. In this manner he passed through the streets of London, and presented the king of France to his father, who came forth to meet him, and received him with as much politeness as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come to pay him a friendly visit.

John, besides the generous treatment he received, had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing that his fate was not singular. The king of Scots had been eleven years a prisoner in England; and Edward finding that the conquest of Scotland was nowise advanced by the captivity of its sovereign, agreed to set him at liberty for the ransom of

an hundred thousand marks sterling, and David de Brus delivered the sons of all his principal nobility, as a security for the payment.

Mean while the kingdom of France was involved in the most terrible disorders \*. The dauphin, now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the reins of government during his father's captivity; but though possessed of excellent abilities, he had neither the experience nor authority requisite to defend a state, attacked at once by foreign wars, and distracted by internal commotions.

In order to procure a supply, he convoked the states of the kingdom; but that assembly, instead of granting his request, laid hold of the present opportunity to demand a limitation of the power of the crown, the redress of public grievances, and the enlargement of the king of Navarre.

Marcel, provost of the merchants and first magistrate of Paris, instead of endeavouring to preserve the public peace and tranquillity, as his duty required, encouraged the populace in all their violent proceedings. They detained the dauphin in a kind of captivity: they massacred in his presence Robert de Clermont, and John de Conflans, marshals of France; they menaced all the other ministers

sters with the like fate ; and when Charles at last escaped from their hands, they levied war against him, and openly erected the standard of rebellion. The other cities of the kingdom, following the example of the capital, disclaimed the dauphin's authority, usurped the government into their own hands, and spread disorder and confusion through all the provinces.

The nobles, who were attached to the crown, and would willingly have put a stop to these outrages, had lost all their influence ; and being upbraided with cowardice for their behaviour in the battle of Poitiers, were every where treated with indignity and contempt.

The troops, who for want of regular pay could no longer be held in order and discipline, threw off all regard to their officers, endeavoured to procure subsistence by pillage and robbery, and joining themselves with the ruffians and outlaws, with which the nation abounded, formed numerous bands of free-booters, who infested and plundered every part of the kingdom.

Amidst these disorders the king of Navarre made his escape from prison, and put himself at the head of the furious malecontents. But this prince, though endowed with excellent talents, was entirely desti-

tute of that sagacity and prudence which his difficult situation required.

He revived his claim, which was now become obsolete, to the crown of France; and, indeed, if female succession had not been excluded by the Salic law, his mother, the daughter of Lewis Hutin, brought him undoubtedly the only lawful title, and stood before the mother of Edward in the course of descent.

But as he had no hopes of making good his pretensions without the assistance of the English, who were concerned in interest to disappoint his aim, he acted by no settled or consistent plan; but in all his operations he behaved more like a leader of banditti than the commander of a regular army, or one who aspired to the possession of a throne, and was bound by his station to exert his endeavours in restoring the peace and tranquillity of the public.

The eyes, therefore, of all the French, who wished well to their country, were fixed upon the dauphin; and that young prince, though by no means distinguished for his military talents, was yet possessed of such an amiable manner and winning address, that he daily attached his friends more firmly to his interest, and even gained the goodwill and affection of his enemies.

Marcel,

Marcel, the seditious provost, was killed as he was attempting to betray the city to the king of Navarre and the English; and the capital immediately returned to its duty. The most considerable bodies of the rebellious peasants were dispersed and put to the sword; some parties of the military banditti met with the same fate; and tho' many disorders still continued to prevail, France began to recover the appearance of a regular government, and to concert a plan for its own security.

During these disorders in France, Edward seemed to have a favourable opportunity of extending his conquests; but he was restrained by the truce from making open war, and he could not, consistently with his own interest, assist the faction of Navarre in private.

He therefore employed himself in carrying on a negociation with his prisoner; and a treaty was at last concluded on the following terms; that, in consideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs should enjoy Gascony, Guienne, L'Engumois, Saintogne, Perigort, Quercy, Limousin, Poitou, Touraine, Calais, Guisnes, the Boulonnois, and the county of Ponthieu, free and independent of the kingdom



dom of France; and that John and the French noblemen, who had been taken with him, should be restored to their liberty, on the payment of four millions of gold crowns for his and their ransom.

But this treaty was rejected by the estates of France as incompatible with the honour and safety of the kingdom; and Edward, enraged at this refusal, threatened to visit the dauphin at Paris, as soon as the truce should be expired.

Accordingly, having assembled all the military power of England, and being joined by a number of foreign adventurers, he passed over to Calais with an army of an hundred thousand men;\* a force which the dauphin could not pretend to oppose in the field; and he therefore prepared to ward off a blow which it was impossible for him to resist.

With this view he put all the considerable towns in a posture of defence; caused them to be furnished with magazines and provisions; distributed garrisons in all proper places; ordered the inhabitants to convey their valuable effects to the fortified cities, and chose his own station at Paris, resolving to decline a general engagement, and allow the enemy to exhaust their fury in the open country.

The

\* A. D. 1359.

The king, aware of these proceedings, had the precaution to carry along with him six thousand waggon's loaded with provisions for the maintenance of his army. After wasting the province of Picardy, he advanced to Rheims in Champagne, where the kings of France were generally crowned.

Here he proposed to be invested with the royal diadem of France, and the bishops of Lincoln and Durham accompanied him in order to perform the ceremony; but the place was so well fortified, and supplied with such a numerous garrison, that he did not think proper to besiege it in form, but kept it blocked up till the beginning of Lent, and, in the mean time, subdued some small fortresses in the neighbourhood.

Early in the spring \* he advanced to Troyes, and, entering Burgundy, took the town of Tonnerre, though he could not reduce the castle; thence he continued his march to Montreal, Avallon, and Guillon, where Philip duke of Burgundy, in order to preserve his country from farther ravages, agreed to pay him the sum of one hundred thousand nobles.

Edward bent his march towards the Nivernois, which saved itself by alike composition; he then ravaged the Gatenois and Brie, and arriving before Paris, on the last day of March,

fixed

\* A. D. 1360.

fixed his quarters at Bourg-la-Reine, from whence his army extended to Lonjumeau and Corbeil.

A treaty was again set on foot under the mediation of the pope, but proved as abortive as the former; and the king drawing up his army before the Fauxbourg S. Ma-reil, challenged the dauphin to a battle, promising to renounce all claim to the crown of France, should he be defeated.

This proposal being rejected, the weather extremely cold, and his army destitute of forage, he made a fruitless attempt upon the suburbs, and retired next day into Brittany, from whence he resolved to return in July or August, and invest the city of Paris.

The dauphin, dreading the entire reduction of Brittany, and despairing of ever being able to oppose the progress of such a mighty army, while the public finances were exhausted, and the neighbourhood of the capital was ravaged by the king of Navarre, determined to conclude a treaty with England as the only means of saving the kingdom from utter ruin.

Edward himself is said to have been disposed to a peace, by a dreadful storm that looked like a judgment from heaven. When he had arrived within two leagues of Chartres, a hurricane began to blow  
with



*Edward 3 induced by a Storm near  
Chartres, on his Knees vows to make  
Peace with the French.*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England*



with surprizing fury; and a shower of hailstones fell of such an enormous size, that six thousand horses and one thousand men were killed upon the spot, while the canopy of heaven seemed to be rent with dreadful peals of thunder.

The king, terrified at this awful scene, threw himself from his horse upon the ground; and stretching out his hands towards the church of Chartres, made a solemn vow to God, that he would instantly agree to a peace with France, if it could be obtained on reasonable terms.\*

Both parties being thus inclined to an accommodation, a treaty was made at Breigny in the Pais-Chartrain on the following conditions: that king John should be set at liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of gold crowns, amounting to about one million and five hundred thousand pounds of our present money, which was to be discharged at different payments: that Edward should for ever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Saintogne, L'Agenois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouvergne, L'Engumois, and other districts

\* A. D. 1362.

districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France: that the full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should resign all claim to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them: that the king of Navarre should be reinstated in his honours and possessions: that Edward should renounce his alliance with the Flemings, and John his league with the Scots: that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany, between the families of Blois and Montfort, should be determined by arbiters, chosen by the two kings; and if the candidates refused to submit to their award, the difference should be no longer a ground of quarrel between the two kingdoms: and that forty hostages\* should be sent to England, as a security for the performance of these articles.

In

\* The hostages were the two sons of the French monarch, John and Lewis; his brother Philip duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, James de Bourbon count de Poithieu, the counts of Eu, Langueville, St. Pol, Harcourt, Vendome, Couci, Craon, Montmorenci, and many of the chief noblemen of France. The princes were mostly released on the execution of certain conditions; others of the hostages, particularly the duke of Berry, were allowed to return upon their parole, which, however, they thought proper to break, *Rym. v. 6.*

In pursuance of this agreement, John was conducted to Calais, where Edward also, soon after, arrived; and both princes solemnly ratified the treaty on the twenty-fourth day of October. Next day, John set out for Boulogne, and Edward accompanied him to the distance of a mile from Calais, where they parted, with many professions of the most sincere esteem and cordial friendship.

Few treaties of so great importance have been executed with so much punctuality and honour. Edward had hardly ever entertained any real hopes of obtaining the crown of France. By setting John at liberty, and making peace at a juncture so favourable to his arms, he had resigned all pretensions of that nature; he had sold at a very high price that imaginary title; and had no other interest, at present, than to keep possession of those territories which he had gained with equal prudence and good fortune.

John, on the other hand, though the terms were somewhat hard and severe, was endowed with such a high sense of honour, that he resolved, at all events, to carry them into execution.

In this laudable work, however, he met with many difficulties, arising chiefly from the extreme aversion which the towns and

castles in the neighbourhood of Guienne discovered to submit to the English yoke; and in order to remove these obstacles, John determined to make a voyage to England.\*

When his ministers endeavoured to divert him from this resolution, he told them, that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, it ought still to be found in the breasts of kings.

Some historians have attempted to diminish the merit of this honourable behaviour, by alledging, that John was in love with an English lady, to whom he wanted a pretence to pay a visit; but, besides that this suggestion is supported by no historical authority, it is entirely destitute of the least show of probability, as that prince was then in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

He was lodged in the Savoy, the palace where he had resided during his captivity, and where he soon after sickened and died.† He was succeeded on the throne by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified by his sagacity and prudence to repair the damages, which the kingdom had sustained from the misconduct of his two predecessors.

Before

\* A. D. 1363.

† A. D. 1364.

## E D W A R D   I I I .      111

Before he could think of coping with such a powerful enemy as the king of England, he found it necessary to remedy the disorders in which his own country was involved.

He attacked the king of Navarre, the great disturber of France during that age; he obtained a complete victory over him by the courage and conduct of Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, one of the most accomplished generals of that age; and he obliged his enemy to agree to reasonable terms of peace.

Du Guesclin was not equally successful in the wars of Britany, which were still carried on, notwithstanding the mediation of France and England: he was defeated and taken prisoner at Auray by the lord Chandos; Charles de Blois was killed in the same action; and the young count of Montfort soon after became entire master of the dutchy.

Charles had the prudence to elude the force of the blow, which he could not prevent; he acquiesced in the decision of fortune; he recognized the title of Montfort, though a professed adherent of Edward; and received his homage and fealty for his new dominions.

But the chief obstruction which the French king met with in the reformation of the



state, arose from enemies obscure by their birth and station, distinguished only by their atrocious crimes, and become dangerous by their immense numbers.

After the peace of Britany, the many soldiers of fortune, who had served under the standard of Edward, being scattered through the provinces, and possessed of fortified places, refused to lay down their arms, or abandon a course of life, to which they had been so long enured, and by which alone they could procure a livelihood. Associating with the banditti, who were already habituated to rapine and violence, they formed themselves into large bodies; and under the name of *Companies* and *Companions*, plundered the defenceless peasants with equal wantonness and impunity.

Some English and Gascon gentlemen, particularly Sir Matthew Gournay, Sir Hugh Calverly, the chevalier Verte and others, were so ill advised as to put themselves at the head of these ruffians, whose numbers consisted of near forty thousand, and who had rather the appearance of regular armies than bands of robbers.

They defeated the troops of France in several pitched battles; in one of which Jaques de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was slain; and they carried their outrages

to such a degree as seemed to threaten the kingdom with utter destruction.\*

The greater havock and devastation they committed, the more easily did they recruit their numbers; all those who were oppressed with poverty, or involved in debt, crowded to their standard; the evil daily became more inveterate; and though the pope fulminated a sentence of excommunication against them, these military robbers could not be induced to relinquish their wicked course of life, nor apply themselves to any lawful or civil occupation.

Large appointments were offered them, and a free passage through the Empire and Hungary, if they would undertake a crusade against the Turks, who had lately made terrible irruptions into Europe; but they did not chuse to go so far abroad, while they could live in greater plenty and with less danger at home; though at length they were allured into Spain by the civil wars which broke out in that country.

Pedro, king of Castile, surnamed the Cruel, had filled his kingdom and his own family with murder and bloodshed; and having incurred the universal detestation of his subjects, he felt himself begin to totter upon his throne.

K 3

His

\* A. D. 1366.

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His nobles fell every day the victims of his cruelty and suspicion : he put to death several of his natural brothers without any reason assigned, or any form of trial : each murder, by increasing the number of his enemies, became the cause of fresh barbarities ; and as he was possessed of considerable abilities, his neighbours, as well as his subjects, began to be apprehensive for their own safety.

The cruelty of his temper, instead of being mitigated, was rather inflamed by the passion of love. Prompted by the pernicious advice of Mary de Padilla, who had gained an entire ascendant over his heart, he imprisoned his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, sister to the king of France ; and soon after made way by her death for his marriage with his mistress.

Henry, count de Transtamare, one of his natural brothers, dreading the fate which had attended the rest, rose in arms against the tyrant ; but failing in the attempt, took refuge in France, where he found the minds of the people exasperated against Pedro for the murder of the French princess.

He made a proposal to Charles for engaging the Companies, as they were called, in his service, and leading them into Castile ; where, with the advice of his own friends, and the armies of his brother, he did not  
doubt

doubt but he should soon be able to expel the tyrant from the throne. Charles embraced the proposal with great alacrity, and ordered Du Guescelin to treat with the leaders of these banditti.

The treaty was immediately concluded. Du Guescelin was so universally admired for his courage and conduct, and so generally beloved for his humanity and politeness, that the Companies offered to serve under his banner without so much as knowing in what expedition they were going to embark; they only required an assurance that they should not be led against the prince of Wales in Guienne. But that prince was so far from opposing the enterprize, that he even permitted some of his knights to engage in the expedition.

Du Guescelin having assembled an army of sixty thousand men, advanced to Avignon, where the pope resided, and demanded, sword in hand, an absolution for his soldiers, and the sum of two hundred thousand livres. The first was readily granted; but some objections were made to the second.

Du Guescelin replied, that he believed his men might do well enough without the absolution of his holiness; but that the money was indispensibly necessary. The pope finding it in vain to resist, extorted from the  
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inhabitants the sum of one hundred thousand livres, and presented it to Du Guesclin.

That generous warrior answered, that it was not his intention to oppress the innocent people; that the pope and his cardinals could easily furnish the sum required from their own coffers: he insisted that this money should be restored to the rightful owners; and declared, that should they be defrauded of it, he himself would return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige his holiness to make them restitution.

The pope, convinced by this resolute behaviour, that no evasions would answer his purpose, ordered the sum to be paid from his own treasury; and the army, thus freed from the censures, and enriched by the spoils of the church, proceeded on their expedition.

These bold and veteran soldiers, commanded by such an accomplished general, easily prevailed over the king of Castile, whose subjects, instead of supporting the tyrant in the possession of the throne, were ready to pull him from it.

Pedro fled from his dominions, took refuge in Guienne, and implored the protection of the prince of Wales, upon whom his father had bestowed the sovereignty of these conquered provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitain. The prince had

now



now altered his sentiments with regard to the affairs of Spain.

Whether he was prompted by the benevolence of his heart to assist a dethroned monarch, or dreaded the consequence of France's acquiring such a powerful ally as the new king of Castile, or was only excited by his own active and aspiring spirit to display his military talents, we will not take upon us to determine: certain it is, he engaged to support the dethroned sovereign; and having, with his father's consent, assembled a numerous army, immediately began his march for that purpose\*.

He was attended by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, lately created duke of Lancaster, in place of the good prince of that name, who had died without issue, and whose daughter he had married. The lord Chandos likewise, who was as much admired for his courage and conduct among the English, as Du Guesclin was among the French, commanded under him in this expedition.

The Companies were no sooner informed of these proceedings, than they deserted the service of Henry de Trastamare, and enlisted under the banners of Edward. Henry, however, adored by his subjects, and assisted by the king of Arragon and others, was able

\* A. D. 1367.

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to oppose the prince of Wales with a body of an hundred thousand men; an army three times more numerous than that commanded by Edward.

Du Guesclin and all the old officers endeavoured to persuade him to keep on the defensive, to intercept the convoys of the prince of Wales, and to avoid, if possible, a pitched battle with a general, whose schemes had always been concerted with prudence, conducted with spirit, and crowned with success.

Henry, confiding in the superiority of his numbers, rejected the advice, and ventured to engage the English prince at Najara. But he was made to pay dearly for his imprudent conduct; he was defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand men, and obliged to fly the kingdom.

Pedro, who so well deserved the infamous surname which he bore, proposed to murder all the prisoners in cold blood, but was diverted from that barbarous purpose by the remonstrances of the prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the conqueror: Pedro was again placed upon the throne, and Edward accomplished this enterprize with his usual glory and good fortune.

But he had soon reason to repent of the generous office he had performed. Pedro, who was as base as he was cruel, refused to pay

pay the sum he had promised to Edward; and that prince, seeing his army daily diminished by sickness, and even his own health impaired by the excessive heat of the climate, was forced to return into Guienne, without receiving any reward for his service.

Pedro, instead of being reclaimed by his late misfortunes, became more cruel and savage than ever; and on the return of Henry de Trankamare, together with Du Guescelin and some French forces, the tyrant was again dethroned and taken prisoner.

His brother, enraged at his cruelties, put him to death with his own hand; and was raised to the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The duke of Lancaster, whose second wife was the eldest daughter of Pedro, enjoyed only the empty title of that sovereignty, and rendered the new king of Castile a more inveterate enemy to England.

But the unworthy treatment which Edward received from Pedro was not the only disadvantage resulting from this enterprize. He had expended such large sums of money in his preparations, and the pay of his troops, that he was obliged, on his return, to lay a new tax on his principality. Some of the nobility submitted to this imposition, though not without extreme reluctance, and the rest absolutely refused to comply.

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They complained, that they were treated as a conquered people; that their privileges were violated; that all confidence was reposed in the English alone; that every office of honour and profit was bestowed upon these foreigners; and that the great aversion which most of them had discovered to the English government was likely to be long remembered against them.

They therefore turned their eyes to their ancient sovereign, who had now re-established the peace and tranquillity of his own kingdom; and the counts of Armagnac, Cominges, and Perigord, the lord D'Albert, with other noblemen, repaired to Paris, and presented their complaints to Charles, as their lord paramount and lawful superior.

It had been stipulated in the treaty of Brittany, that Edward should renounce his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; and that John should resign all title to the homage of Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English.

But when the treaty was ratified and confirmed at Calais, it was found necessary, on account of some points in the feudal law, that the mutual renunciations should for some time be delayed; and it was resolved, that in the interim these claims should lie dormant.

Though

Though the neglect in performing these renunciations had always proceeded from France, Edward seems to have taken no offence at that circumstance; either because he thought his right sufficiently secured by this clause, or perhaps because he had hitherto received a proper excuse for such an omission. On this pretence, however, false and unjust, as it certainly was, Charles determined to revive his claim of superiority, to consider himself as the lord paramount of these provinces, and to receive the appeals of his vassals.

But as the conduct of princes is less regulated by the maxims of justice than the views of policy; and as the many injuries received from the English, the pride and parade of their triumphs, and the rigorous terms imposed by the treaty of Britany, seemed to apologize for every prudent means of revenge; Charles resolved to direct himself in that particular rather by the situation of the two kingdoms, than by the opinion of his lawyers and civilians\*.

Edward, he knew, was now oppressed with age and infirmities: the prince of Wales enjoyed but a very indifferent state of health: the inhabitants of these provinces were more strongly attached to the French than to the English government; they were removed at

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\* A. D. 1369.



a great distance from their present masters, and lay contiguous to his dominions; his own subjects were inflamed with the most implacable rancour against these invaders, and wished for nothing so much as an opportunity of wreaking their resentment upon the authors of all their misfortunes; and from these concurring circumstances he inferred, that the possession of the English provinces, which he could not retrieve by fair and equitable means, he should be able to recover by force of arms.

Accordingly having made all the necessary preparations for carrying his scheme into execution, he summoned the prince of Wales to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for his behaviour to his vassals.

The prince, alike surprized and enraged at this summons, replied, that he would certainly come to Paris, but it should be at the head of sixty thousand men. Charles was so little noted for his military talents, that Edward could hardly be brought to think that that monarch actually intended to engage in such a dangerous and difficult enterprise.

It was not long, however, before he found that this was really his intention. Charles's first attempt was upon the city of Abbeville, which opened its gates without resistance: St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy, followed the  
same

some example; and in a little time the whole county of Ponthieu was entirely subdued\*.

The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, fell upon the southern provinces; and being assisted by the famous Du Guesclin, who had now returned from Spain, they daily gained some advantage over the English.

The prince of Wales's health was now in such a languishing state, that he was incapable of mounting on horseback, or of exerting his usual vigour: the lord Chandos, constable of Guienne, was killed in one action; the Captal de Buche, who succeeded him in that office, was taken prisoner in another; and when young Edward was obliged, by his growing infirmities, to resign the command of the army, and return to his native country, the English interest in the southern provinces of France began gradually to decline.

Edward, provoked at these injuries, threatened to murder all the French hostages who were still in his hands; but by the remonstrances of his courtiers he was diverted from that cruel resolution. After having resumed, by the advice of his parliament, the empty title of king of France, he made several efforts to retrieve his affairs on the continent;

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but all his endeavours, both by sea and land, proved abortive.

The earl of Pembroke was defeated at sea and taken prisoner, with his whole army, near Rochelle, by a fleet, which Henry, king of Castile, had equipped for that purpose. Edward himself embarked at Sandwich with another army, but was so long detained by contrary winds, that he was obliged to postpone the enterprize.

Sir Robert Knolles, at the head of thirty thousand men, advanced into the heart of France, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris, without being able to bring the enemy to a battle; he then invaded the provinces of Maine and Anjou; but part of his army being routed by the conduct of Du Guesclin, the rest were scattered and dispersed; and he was glad, with the small remains of it, to take refuge in Guienne, whose sovereign had engaged in an alliance with England.

Soon after, the duke of Lancaster made a like attempt with a body of twenty-five thousand men, and traversed the whole length of France from Calais to Bourdeaux; but he suffered so much from the flying parties of the enemy, who hovered on the skirts of his army, that he was hardly able to bring one half of his forces to the place of their destination. At last Edward found it absolutely  
necessary

necessary to agree to a truce with the enemy, after having lost almost all his ancient possessions in France, excepting Bourdeaux and Bayonne; and all his conquests, except Calais.

The king, in his old age, was exposed to many mortifications, from which in the other parts of his life he had been entirely free.

He was not only stripped of his foreign dominions, and foiled in every attempt to defend or recover them; but he likewise felt the decay of his authority at home, and experienced from the bold and peremptory nature of some parliamentary remonstrances, the fickle and inconstant disposition of the people, and how much their opinions are influenced by the smiles or frowns of fortune.

This prince, whose whole attention during the vigour of his age had been ingrossed in the pursuits of war and ambition, began at a very improper season to indulge himself in the dalliance of pleasure; and as he was now a widower, he conceived a passion for one Alice Pierce, an infamous and abandoned woman, and who employed her influence to so bad purpose, that, in order to satisfy the parliament, the king was obliged to banish her the court.

Besides the indolence and inactivity which naturally accompanies old age, infirmi-

ties had made him resign the administration of public affairs into the hands of his son the duke of Lancaster, who acted in such an arbitrary and despotic manner as caused great jealousies and disgusts in the minds of the people. He was even suspected of aspiring to the throne; and in order to cut off his ambitious hopes, if indeed he ever entertained any, Edward was persuaded by his parliament to declare his grandson his heir and successor to the crown.

The prince of Wales, after a long and violent consumption, died in the forty-sixth year of his age, to the unutterable sorrow of the whole nation, who had flattered itself with the prospect of uninterrupted happiness under the reign of such an accomplished sovereign\*.

Instances of his generosity and moderation have already been mentioned; and such was his courage and conduct in war, that he was  
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\* The epithet of Black Prince was either given him by the English, in allusion to the colour of his armour, or was fixed upon him by the French, on account of the calamities which he brought upon that nation. He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb, with an inscription in French, is still to be seen. He had two legitimate sons, viz. Edward, who died an infant; and Richard, born at Bourdeaux, who succeeded his grandfather on the throne of England. He is likewise said to have had by Editha de Wellisford, a natural son, named Sir Roger de Clarendon. *Walsing.*



considered all over Europe as the flower of chivalry. He never fought a battle which he did not gain, nor undertook an enterprize in which he did not succeed.

His affability, humanity, and complaisance, procured him the affections of the soldiers, who always fought under his banner with an assurance of victory, which no odds could lessen, and no accidents disappoint. In all the characters of a son, a brother, of a husband and father, of a general and soldier, he shewed himself possessed of the most excellent virtues and distinguished abilities\*.

The king was deeply affected with the death of his beloved son, whom he did not long survive. He was, soon after, seized with a malignant fever, attended with irruptions, which at last brought him to his grave.

When his distemper became so violent, that no hopes of his recovery remained, all his courtiers forsook him, as a bankrupt no longer able to reward their venal services. The ungrateful Alice waiting till she saw him in the agonies of death, was so cruel as to strip him of his rings and jewels, and leave him without one domestic to close his eyes, or perform the last offices of humanity to his cold and breathless corpse.

In

\* A. D. 1376.

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In this forlorn condition, deprived of all comfort and assistance, the once mighty, but now helpless Edward, lay expiring, when a priest, less brutal than the rest of his servants, approached his bed; and finding him still breathing, began to administer some spiritual consolation to his soul. He had just time to express his sorrow and contrition for the many crimes and errors of his conduct, and died pronouncing the name of Jesus\*.

Such was the wretched and deplorable exit of Edward III. undoubtedly one of the greatest and most accomplished princes that ever filled the English throne, whether we consider him as a warrior or a legislator, a monarch or a man.

In his stature he was about six feet high, of an elegant shape, and robust constitution: his limbs were finely turned; his eyes were quick and piercing; his visage was sharp and aquiline; and his whole air was such as, at once, engaged affection, and commanded esteem. He excelled all his co-temporaries in military skill and personal address.

Humane, generous, and affable, he treated his subjects as if they had been his children; and they, in return, esteemed and revered him as their common father and protector. A true lover of the constitution of his

\* A. D. 1377.

his country, with which he was intimately acquainted, he was no less anxious to defend the privileges of the people than the prerogative of his crown; witness the many excellent laws and regulations which were enacted in his reign\*. Acute, penetrating, and fa-

\* One of the most popular laws enacted by Edward, or indeed by any other prince, was the statute passed in the twenty-fifth year of this reign, which limited the cases of high-treason, which were formerly vague and uncertain, to three principal heads, viz. the conspiring against the life of the king, the levying war against his person, and the adhering to his enemies; and the judges were prohibited from inflicting the pains of treason for any other offences, without an application to parliament.

The people were no less pleased with the statute of Provisors, which rendered it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and secured the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been shamefully invaded by the pope. By another statute, every person who carried any cause or appeal to the court of Rome, was subjected to the sentence of outlawry.

The taxes imposed in this reign were much the same with those which had been levied in the former. Sometimes a tenth, sometimes a fifteenth, sometimes more, and sometimes less, was granted, according as the exigencies of the state required; and indeed Edward was so good an economist of the public money, and applied it so faithfully to the particular purposes for which it was allotted, that the parliament hardly ever refused to grant him a subsidy which he demanded.

He was remarkably popular in the city of London, the inhabitants of which he held in so great esteem, that

sagacious, he never failed at once, to hit upon the most excellent schemes; wise, wary, and circumspect; he always executed his plans with the most consummate prudence; bold, active, and enterprizing, he carried his projects into immediate execution; and resolute and determined in his purpose, he never desisted from the prosecution of his favourite object, until he had gained the end he had in view. And, what above all things ought to endear his memory to the nation, it was in his time that the English first began to obtain the superiority over the French, which they have ever since preserved, and which, it is to be hoped, they will always continue to maintain\*.

## RICHARD

that he proclaimed a tournament for three days against all the world, in the name of the mayor, the sheriffs, and aldermen. In the exhibition of this scene, the king himself personated the mayor, his son, the black prince, and Lionel represented the sheriffs, while two other of his sons, John and Edmund, with nineteen of the principal noblemen of the Kingdom, supplied the places of the aldermen: and to render the compliment more finished and complete, all the royal and noble combatants wore the arms of the city on their shields and surcoats.

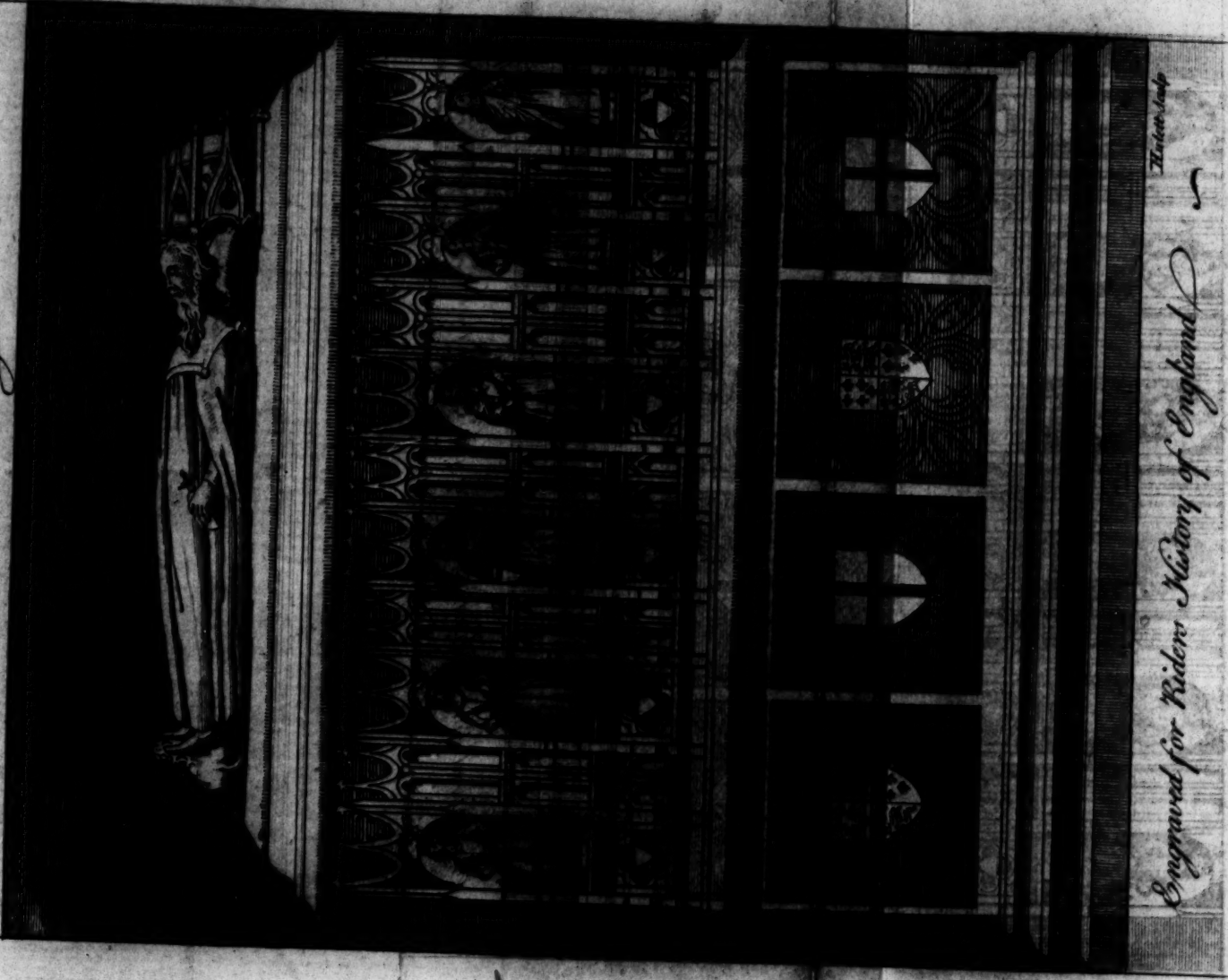
\* He was buried in Westminster-abbey, near his queen Philippa, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters; viz. Edward the black prince; William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy; Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, who espoused Elizabeth, heiress of William





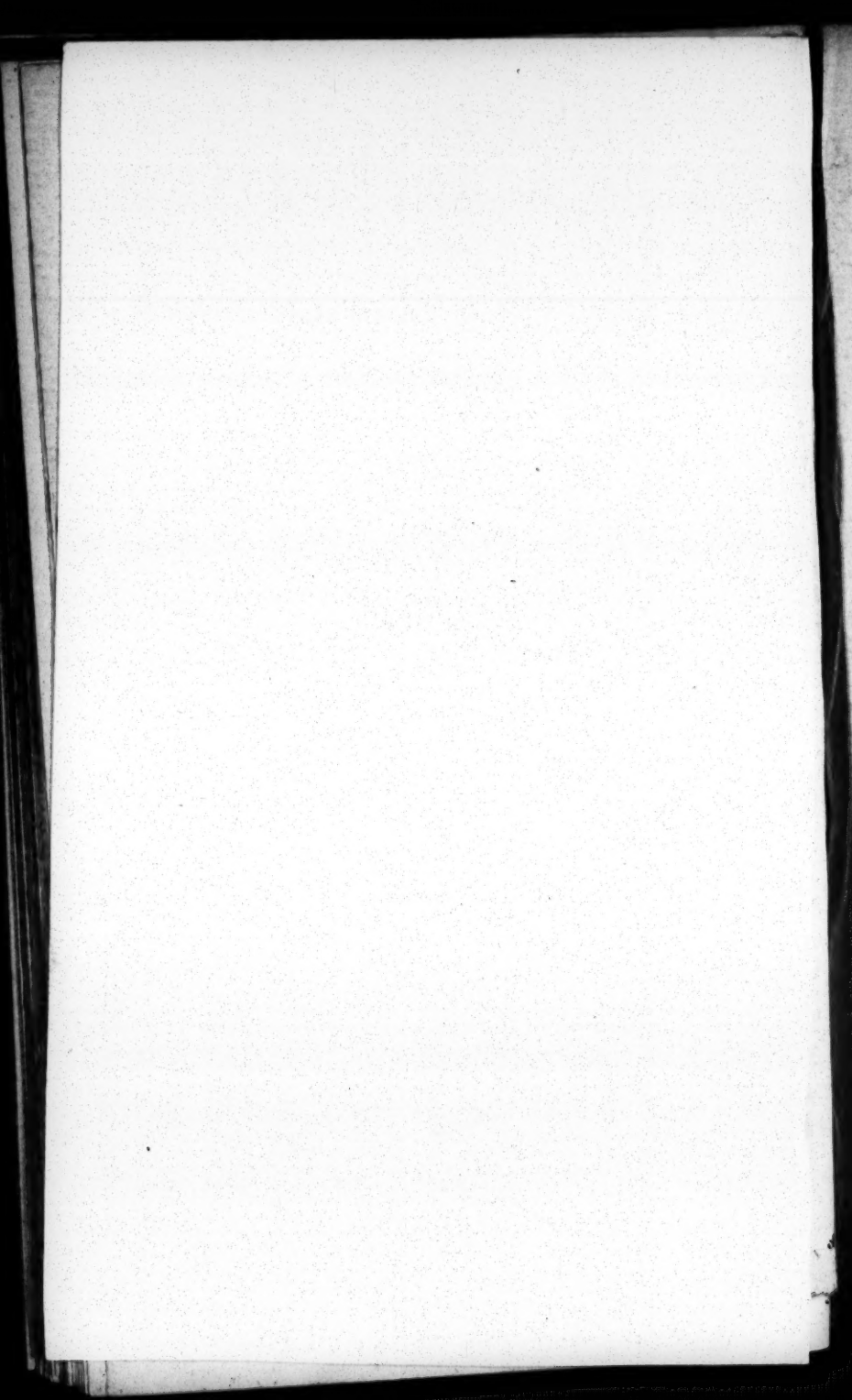


*The MONUMENT of King EDWARD III in  
Westminster Abbey .*



*Engraved for Riders History of England*

*H. K. S. S.*





*RICHARD II.*



*Engraved for Rider's History of England.*



# RICHARD II. surnamed of BOURDEAUX. A.D. 1377.

**U**PON the death of Edward III. the crown naturally devolved to his grandson Richard II. in right of his father the late prince of Wales. But though Edward himself

de Burgh, earl of Ulster. He was afterwards married to Yolante, sister to John Galcas Visconti duke of Milan; and by her he had one daughter, named Philippa, who was matched with Edmund Mortimer earl of March. Edward's fourth son was John of Gaunt, who married Blanche, daughter and co-heiress of Henry duke of Lancaster, to which title he succeeded: his second wife was Constance, eldest daughter of Don Pedro king of Castile, in whose right he assumed the arms and title of that crown; after her death he espoused Catharine Swinford, who had already bore him several illegitimate children. The fifth son of Edward was Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, constable of Dover-castle, warden of the Cinque-ports, and afterwards duke of York; the sixth was William of Windsor, who died an infant; and the seventh Thomas of Woodstock.

The daughters were, Isabel, matched with Enguerand de Coucy, created earl of Bedford; Joan, who died of the plague at Bourdeaux; Blanche, who died in her infancy; Mary, married to John de Montfort duke of Bretagne; and Margaret, matched with John Hastings earl of Pembroke. Edward is likewise said to have had two natural children, namely, John Baldac, and Isabella, married to Sancho Martinez de Leiva, a Spanish nobleman, who, in her right, quartered the arms of England in his escutcheon. *Fabian, Walsingham, Rymer, Sandford. Priv. Sign. Spencer.*

self had settled the succession in this manner, the nation in general were of opinion, that the execution of his last will would meet with many difficulties. Richard had three uncles, all in the prime of their age, who might probably dispute the throne with him, and support their pretensions to that dignity with very specious and plausible reasons.

The young prince could claim the crown only by right of representation, as heir and eldest son of his father, who himself had never ascended the throne; and this order of succession had never taken place, at least since the Norman conquest. Just and lawful as this right might be with respect to private persons, it did not necessarily follow that it was equally good with regard to sovereign princes.

In France, for instance, the succession of the kingdom was not regulated by the laws of private estates. In Spain, the kings, who for a century past had enjoyed the crown of Castile, were sprung from a prince who obtained it in prejudice of his nephews, the sons of his eldest brother: nay, a natural son was then in actual possession of the throne, though, among private persons, bastards were excluded from the inheritance of their fathers.

In Artois, the aunt, by the judgment of the peers of France, was preferred to the nephew.

nephew who represented his father. A different decision of the same court, in the case of Bretagne, had occasioned a long and bloody war, which ended at length in favour of the uncle against the niece, and in which Edward himself had supported the interest of the former.

This variety of opinion might have furnished the duke of Lancaster, the eldest of the brothers, with a plausible pretext for seizing the crown, had he really entertained any design of that nature. Add to this, that the great youth of Richard, who was only in the eleventh year of his age, and the critical situation of the kingdom, which was threatened with foreign wars, seemed to require a more sure and steady hand than that of a minor, to manage the reins of government.

But, on the other hand, if ever Lancaster had raised his aspiring hopes to the crown, he might be diverted from the thought of carrying his design into execution by the prospect of the many dangers and difficulties, which, he easily foresaw, he must have to encounter. He himself was far from being popular, and he knew that without the assistance of the people, he could never accomplish such a great and important object. Richard too was extremely beloved by the nation, as well for his personal beauty

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and accomplishments, as for the sake of his father, whose memory they revered even to a degree of enthusiasm.

But whether Lancaster was influenced by the motive of equity and justice, or was only restrained by the dictates of prudence and discretion, we will not take upon us to determine; certain it is, that, instead of endeavouring to supplant his nephew, he was the first to do him homage and fealty; and thus all fears being removed, Richard was crowned at Westminster on the fifteenth day of July, exactly four and twenty days after the death of his grandfather.

At this coronation it is, that we meet with the first mention of a champion, who appeared, completely armed, in Westminster-hall, where the king dined, and, throwing his gauntlet on the ground, challenged all persons whatsoever, who should dare to dispute his majesty's title to the crown.

The origin of this custom, which is still preserved, is altogether unknown; but it is certainly of an older date than the coronation of Richard II. since Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office at this time, was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Scrivelby, which he possessed in Lincolnshire.

This

This ceremony was no sooner finished, than the king created his uncle Thomas, earl of Buckingham; Henry lord Piercy, earl of Northumberland; John de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; and Guischart d'Angle, earl of Huntingdon.

The bishops of London and Sarum; the earls of March and Arundel; the lords Latimer and Cobham; Roger Beauchamp and Richard Stafford, bannerets; John Knyvet, Ralph Ferrers, John Devereux, and Hugh Seagrave, knights batchelors, were, by the assent of the prelates and lords assembled on this occasion, appointed, with the chancellor and treasurer, members of the king's council.

At the head of this body was the duke of Lancaster, who had hitherto engrossed the sole administration of public affairs; but now either dissatisfied with his new associates, or afraid of the encreasing tide of popular odium under which he already laboured, he refused to have any share in the ministry, and retired to his castle of Kenilworth, after having publicly professed, that, in case his majesty should want his assistance, he would attend him with a greater train of followers than any other nobleman in the kingdom, and would always be ready to promote his honour and interest to the utmost of his power.



A parliament being assembled in the month of October, to devise the proper means of checking the progress of the French arms, the commons declined giving their opinion in a matter of so great importance, without the advice and assistance of the duke of Lancaster, a committee of four bishops, four earls, and as many barons, whom they particularly named; and the king, who was present, readily granted their request.

Upon this, the duke arose from his seat, and, falling on his knees before his majesty, begged he might be excused from assisting at the conference, because the commons had traduced his character, and spread invidious reports, that he had either committed acts, or, at least, formed designs which amounted to high treason.

He asserted his innocence in the most solemn manner; and boldly declared, that if any person would dare to accuse him of high-treason, disloyalty, or any action prejudicial to the nation, he would prove the malice and falsity of the charge, either in single combat, or in any other manner that the king and lords should think proper to appoint.

Whatever might be the private opinions of the several members, it was not to be supposed that any one would be so foolish

as to accept the challenge. The prelates and lords stood up, and, with one voice, desired him to put an end to his harrangue, assuring him, at the same time, they did not believe that any person upon earth would accuse him of the crimes he had now mentioned; and the commons affirmed, that in chusing him as their principal counsellor, they had given a strong proof of the high opinion they entertained of his integrity and honour.

The duke, having expatiated upon the fatal effects of such reports as might occasion jealousies and suspicions between the king and his best subjects, declared that he freely forgave the inventors and propagators of such slander, but entreated the house to think of some law to prevent the commission of the like offence for the future.

The commons, considering the critical situation of the kingdom during the king's minority, proposed that certain persons of known abilities and unblemished morals should be appointed in parliament, as the king's constant counsellors, to act in concert with the great officers of the crown, in conducting the administration of public affairs, and directing the application of the money allotted for the support of the war with France.

The proposal was relished. Nine persons were immediately chosen by advice of the lords, and sworn of the council. This trust was not to extend beyond a year; they could not be re-elected for two years following; nor were they allowed, during the exercise of their office, to receive any grants of lands, rents, escheats, wards, or marriage.

The commons presented another petition, in which they prayed that the parliament should name the servants of his majesty; that the expences of the household should be defrayed out of the royal revenue; and that the supplies granted for the war should be appropriated to that purpose alone. The lords refused to join in this motion, because they thought it was treating the king with too great rigour and severity, to place any servants about his person, but such as he himself should approve; but with regard to the expences of the household, they promised that that request should be granted, provided it could possibly be done.

The next demand of the commons was, that during the king's minority, the chancellor, treasurer, chief justices of both benches, chief baron of the Exchequer, and other officers of the crown should be nominated by the parliament; but this motion was quashed by the lords, who arrogated

gated to themselves the right of appointing the counsellors, chancellor, chamberlain and steward of the household, and insisted upon leaving the other officers to the king's choice, with the advice and assent of his council.

The commons, however, were not so much piqued at this disappointment but that they granted a considerable supply for the service of the public, on condition, that the money should be lodged in the hands of two trustees; and John Philpot and William Walworth, merchants in London, were entrusted with that office.

Having given this proof of their public spirit, they thought they had a right to require, that all evil counsellors should be displaced, and their posts conferred upon persons of unblemished honour and integrity. They were gratified in this request; but failed in another, demanding, that a parliament should be assembled once a year, to settle the affairs of the nation, and decide those causes about which the judges were of different opinions.

Edward left his grandson engaged in several dangerous and expensive wars. In consequence of the duke of Lancaster's claim to the crown of Castile, that kingdom still continued to commit hostilities against England. Scotland, which was now governed by Robert

bert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, was united with France in such a close alliance, that a war with the one crown was sure to occasion a rupture with the other.

The French monarch, who by his sage and prudent conduct, had obtained the epithet of Wise, as he had already defeated all the attempts of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous foe to a minor king; but, besides that he was neither fond of war, nor well qualified for conducting military operations, he was at present involved in many domestic difficulties, which it behoved him to remove, before he could think of invading the dominions of others.

The English were still in possession of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; they had lately obtained a grant of Cherbourg from the king of Navarre, and of Brest from the duke of Britany; and being thus able to invade France in almost every quarter, they found it an easy matter to keep the government of that kingdom in perpetual terror and apprehension.

Charles had formed a scheme for dispossessing them of these important places; but, before he could execute his project, he died in the flower of his age, and left his throne to a minor son, who bore the name of Charles VI.

Mean



Mean while the war with France was carried on with little success, and less spirit.\* Sir Hugh Calverly, who had formerly commanded a company of banditti in France, was at this time governor of Calais; and making an invasion into Picardy, with part of the garrison, he reduced Boulogne to ashes.

The duke of Lancaster led an army into Britany; but after several attempts and disappointments, he returned without achieving any action of importance. In a succeeding year,\* the duke of Gloucester marched from Calais at the head of two thousand horse and eight thousand foot; and, with this small army, he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France, and to extend his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Brie, the Beausse, the Gatinois, and the Orleanois, till he joined his allies in the province of Britany.

The duke of Burgundy, with a more numerous army, endeavoured to oppose his progress; but the French were so intimidated by the former successes of the English, that no superiority of numbers could encourage them to hazard a general engagement with the troops of that nation.

As the duke of Britany, soon after the arrival of this reinforcement, compromising his

\* A. D. 1378.

† A. D. 1380.

his difference with the court of France, this enterprize proved as fruitless and abortive as the former\*.

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\* About this time the count of Denia, a young Spanish nobleman, exhibited a remarkable instance of a high, and almost romantic, sense of honour. The old count having been taken prisoner in the battle of Najara, had been allowed to return to his own country, on leaving his son as an hostage for his ransom. The father happened to die before the money was paid, and the duke of Lancaster, who laid claim to the crown of Castile, being desirous of engaging the interest of the young count, who had great influence in that kingdom, obtained an order for setting him at liberty without ransom. Hawley and Shakel, the two gentlemen who had taken the father in battle, being apprized of the duke's design, represented to the young count the great loss they should suffer by his enlargement.

It is to be observed that prisoners, in those days, belonged to the persons who took them, and who, on that account, were intitled to their ransoms; and to this money they were supposed to have as good a right as to any other kind of property whatever. The young Castilian, therefore, was so fully satisfied of the injustice of the duke's proceedings, that he resolved to sacrifice his liberty to his honour, and immediately disappeared. Several persons were committed to the Tower on suspicion of having been privy to his escape; and at length a warrant was granted for seizing Hawley and Shakel, who took refuge in Westminster-Abbey, from whence it was impossible to draw them either by threats or entreaties. The king, at his uncle's desire, ordered Sir Allan de Bohall, with fifty men, to bring them out by force; and though he found them at divine service, he commanded his soldiers to drag them from  
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The expences attending these expeditions, and the want of œconomy, so common in the reign of a minor, had reduced the English treasury to such a low ebb, that, in order to procure a supply for present necessity, the parliament were obliged to impose a tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above the age of fifteen; and they decreed, that, in raising the tax, the rich should relieve the poor, by a reasonable compensation.

This imposition excited a mutiny, which had well nigh destroyed the English constitution. All history is full of examples where the rich tyrannize over the poor: but here  
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the altar. Hawley and his servant were slain in the scuffle; and Shakel was taken alive and imprisoned in the Tower.

Such a rude encroachment on the privileges of the church was considered as an unpardonable crime; and the archbishop of Canterbury, with five of his suffragans, excommunicated the authours. The people exclaimed against the duke of Lancaster as the contriver of this sacrilegious act: nevertheless he still persisted in his design, and prevailed upon the king to offer Shakel a reward of five hundred marks, in ready money, and a pension of one hundred for life, provided he would produce his prisoner.

Shakel embraced the proposal; and then it appeared, to the amazement of every body, that the young count, more anxious to preserve his honour than recover his liberty, served his keeper in the disguise of a page.  
*Rym. Walsing.*

the dregs of the people rose against their rulers, committed the most terrible outrages upon them, and took a severe vengeance for all the calamities and hardships with which they had been oppressed.

The faint dawning of the arts and sciences, which then began to revive, had encouraged the people, in different parts of Europe, to wish for a better fortune, and to feel the weight of those chains, with which the laws, enacted by the nobility and gentry, had so long galled them.\*

The insurrections of the people in Flanders, and the commotions of the peasants in France, were the natural and necessary consequences of this growing spirit of liberty and independence; and the news of these events being diffused over England, where personal slavery was more prevalent than in any other European state, had disposed the minds of the populace for a rebellion.

One John Ball, a factious preacher, strolled about the country, and expatiated in his harangues upon the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal and unalienable right to liberty, and to all the goods of nature; the absurdity of artificial distinctions, and the great abuses which had sprung from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the

the aggrandisement of a few insolent individuals, who, in reality, were no better than those they commanded.

These tenets, which flattered the vanity of the populace, and are so agreeable to the notions of primitive equality imprinted on the hearts of all men, were greedily swallowed by the multitude; and kindled the sparks of that sedition, which soon after burst out into an open flame.

The tax of these grants had been farmed out to a set of rapacious persons, who extorted the money with great rigour from the people; and the clause enjoining the rich to assist the poor, was so vague and undetermined, that it produced many oppressions, and rendered the people more sensible of the hardships under which they laboured.

The insurrection began in Essex, where a report was industriously spread, that the peasants were doomed to destruction; that their houses would be burned, and their farms plundered. While their minds were alarmed with this groundless rumour, the collectors came to the shop of a blacksmith in that county, while he was at work, and demanded the tax for his daughter; but this he refused to pay, on pretence of her being below the age assigned by the statute.



The brutal officer insisted upon her being a full grown woman; and, in order to prove the truth of his assertion, laid hold of the maid and proceeded to acts of indecency, which enraged the father to such a degree that he knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer.

All who were present applauded the action, and cried out that it was now high time for the people to inflict condign punishment on their merciless tyrants, and assert their native liberty and independence. They instantly flew to arms; the whole neighbourhood joined in the sedition; and the spirit of mutiny spread like a flame through Sussex, Surrey, Hertfordshire, and all the counties which composed the kingdom of the East-Angles.

Before the government had time to recover from their first surprise, the disorder had risen to such a pitch as to baffle all opposition. The populace had thrown off all regard to their former masters; and being headed by the most bold and daring of their companions, who assumed the fictitious names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Millar, by which they meant to express and glory in their mean origin, they committed every where the most cruel outrages, and wantonly murdered all

all the nobility and gentry that happened to fall in their way.

The rebels of the different counties being now united into one body, amounted to no less than one hundred thousand men, who assembled on Blackheath under their principal leaders Tyler and Straw; and as the princess of Wales, the king's mother, in her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, passed through the midst of them, they attacked her retinue, and some of the most insolent among them, to shew their design of reducing all mankind to a level, obliged her to kiss them; though they allowed her to continue her journey without proceeding to any farther violence. They sent a deputation to the king, who had taken refuge in the Tower, and desired to have an interview with him. Richard sailed down the river in his barge; but, on approaching the shore, he observed such instances of tumult and confusion, that he did not think proper to land, but returned to that fortress.

Mean while the insurgents, assisted by the populace of the city, had broke into London; had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy; beheaded all the gentlemen that fell in their way; butchered all the lawyers and attornies, whom they particularly

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ticularly hated; and plundered the warehouses of the rich merchants.

A large body of them fixed their quarters at Mile-End; and the king, not thinking himself safe in the Tower, which was but ill provided for a defence, was persuaded to go out to them, and ask their demands. They insisted upon a general amnesty; the abolition of slavery; liberty of commerce in market-towns without tolls or imposts; and a stated rent on lands instead of the services required by villenage.

Their requests, however reasonable in themselves, were extremely disagreeable to the barons, whom it was no less dangerous to offend: nevertheless, the king was obliged to comply with their demands; charters for that purpose were immediately granted; and this body, having carried their point, instantly dispersed and returned to their several habitations.

By this time, another body of the rebels had forced their way into the Tower, where they murdered Simon Sudbury the primate and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales the treasurer, and several other persons of distinction; and then issuing forth into the city, pillaged the houses of all the wealthy inhabitants.

The king riding through Smithfield, with a small party, encountered Wat Tyler, at the



Wat Tyler *stabbed* by the Lord Mayor.



*Engraved for Rider's History of England*



the head of these insurgents, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler having ordered his companions to retire, until he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company, except the king himself, whom they meant to seize and commit to prison, ventured to come into the midst of the royal presence.

He there behaved with such intolerable arrogance and presumption, that Walworth, the mayor, incensed at his insolence, rode up and stunned him with a blow of his mace; and Philpot finished his fate by thrusting his sword through the ruffian's body, so that he fell dead from his horse.

His followers seeing him fall, cried out, "Our captain is slain; let us revenge his death;" at the same time bending their bows for that purpose. And all this company, with the king himself, had certainly perished on the spot, had it not been for the admirable courage and presence of mind which Richard displayed on this occasion.

He ordered his attendants to stop; he advanced alone towards the incensed populace; and addressing them with a cheerful, yet resolute air, he said; "What is this, my lieges? what are you going to do? would you shoot your king? give  
N 3 " your-

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“ yourselves no concern about the death of  
“ that traitor; I will be your captain; fol-  
“ low me, and I will grant you all your  
“ reasonable desires.”

The mob were so confounded at the death of Tyler, and so over-awed by the presence and charmed with the magnanimity of their prince, that they followed him implicitly, and almost mechanically, without knowing whither they were going.

He led them out into the fields of Islington, to prevent any disorder that might have arisen from their remaining in the city: being there joined by Sir Robert Knolles, with a body of veteran soldiers, and some thousands of Londoners, who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly charged that officer from attacking the insurgents, or committing an undistinguished carnage among them, as had been at first proposed; and he quietly dismissed them, with the same charters which had been granted to their companions.

The nobility and gentry being informed of this insurrection, which threatened the kingdom with instant ruin, hastened up to London with their vassals and adherents; and Richard soon had an army amounting to forty thousand men. The rebels finding it in vain to make any further resistance, were glad to lay down their arms, and submit to  
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the king's mercy; the charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked in parliament; the low people were reduced to the same state of submission and dependance in which they had formerly been placed; and several of the ringleaders were tried, convicted, and capitally punished.

It was alledged, that the rebels had formed a design to seize the king's person, to carry him about with them through the several counties of England, as a sanction to their proceedings; to murder the nobility, gentry, lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; then, to dispatch the king himself: and having thus destroyed all difference of rank and condition, to govern the kingdom at their pleasure.

It is not unlikely that some of the most enthusiastic among them, in the first transports of their phrenzy, and the first run of their success, might have conceived such a chimerical scheme; but had they actually succeeded in their design, they would soon have found the inconvenience of such a perfect equality as they had projected, and would have been obliged, from a regard to their own happiness, to restore matters to their former disposition.

From the late specimen of the king's abilities, it was naturally inferred, that, as the  
faculties

faculties of his mind began to open, he would shine forth with more distinguished lustre, and perhaps equal, if not eclipse, the glorious achievements of his father and grandfather.

But it was not long before these flattering prospects were seen to vanish into smoke. In proportion as Richard advanced in years, the weakness of his head, and the badness of his heart, became the more apparent; and his want of conduct and capacity was too plainly discovered by the stupidity of every scheme he formed, and the miscarriage of every enterprize he undertook.

The Scots had, for some time past, infested the northern counties of England, where they had committed great depredations upon the defenceless inhabitants; though, in these incursions, they had frequently suffered considerable loss, chiefly for want of a body of regulars. To supply this defect, they had lately applied to the court of France; and John de Vienne had been sent over with a party of fifteen hundred men at arms, to assist them in their inroads upon the English borders.

In order to repel the threatened invasion, which was now apprehended to be more dangerous than usual, Richard assembled an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of which

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which he directed his march towards the north.

The Scots were too prudent to think of opposing such a formidable force in the open field; they conveyed all their goods and cattle into their woods and fastnesses, and left their country to be plundered and destroyed by the enemy: and when John de Vienne expressed his surprize at this method of carrying on the war, they told him, that by making an invasion into England, they could easily indemnify themselves for any damage they might sustain from this irruption of the English.

Accordingly, when Richard entered Scotland, by the way of Berwick, the Scots and French, to the number of thirty thousand, crossed the English borders on the west, and, after having plundered the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, for several weeks together, returned into their own country with an immense booty.\*

Mean while Richard continued his route towards Edinburgh, burning and destroying all the towns and villages in his way. He reduced the capital to ashes; Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low countries, met with the same fate; but, when some of

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his most experienced officers advised him to march towards the western coast; and endeavour to intercept the enemy in their return, he foolishly rejected the proposal, and carried back his army into England without having gained any signal advantage by all his mighty and expensive preparations.

The French had long beheld with a jealous eye the large possessions which the English enjoyed in that country: they were particularly vexed to see that the enemy were masters of most of the sea-port towns in the kingdom, by which means they were enabled to distress the trade of France, and engross the whole maritime commerce into their own hands.

They therefore resolved to make one vigorous effort to wrest these places from the English; and they saw no method of accomplishing this end so likely to succeed as by making an invasion into England itself.

With this view they assembled a numerous fleet and a formidable army at Sluys; for they were now in strict alliance with the Flemings. All the nobility of France embarked in the same enterprize: the English were kept in perpetual terror and apprehension: great preparations were made for the defence of the nation; but the French ships being dispersed by a storm, and many  
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of them taken by the English before the embarkation of their troops, the scheme was happily defeated, and England freed, for this time, from all fears of a visit from the enemy.

The French were encouraged to undertake this enterprize, chiefly for two reasons: the one was the absence of the duke of Lancaster, who had carried into Spain the best part of the English army, in prosecution of his vain title to the crown of Castile; a project, in which, after some trifling advantages, he was finally disappointed; the other was the confusion and disorder into which the English government was thrown by the violent feuds and animosities among the principal nobility.

Though Richard was neither qualified by his age nor his capacity for managing the affairs of the nation, he was yet extremely desirous of assuming the reins of government into his own hands; and in this he was strongly encouraged by Robert de Vere, a young man of a noble family, of an handsome person and insinuating address, but of loose and abandoned morals, who by flattering his vicious inclinations, and ministering to his unlawful pleasures, had entirely engrossed his affections.\*

Richard

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Richard, who seems to have resembled his great grandfather Edward II. was not more injudicious in the choice of his favourites, than he was extravagant in distinguishing them by riches and honours. He first created his minion marquis of Dublin, a title before unknown in England, and then duke of Ireland; and invested him by a patent, which was confirmed by parliament, with the entire sovereignty of that island for life.

Not satisfied with these extraordinary marks of his favour, he bestowed upon him his cousin-german Philippa, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci earl of Bedford; and soon after allowed him to divorce that lady, though of an unblemished character, and to marry one Lancerona, a Bohemian, with whose beauty he happened to be captivated.

De Vere was now become the sole and only favourite; no grant could be obtained from the king, but through his hands; no access could be had to his majesty, but by his permission; and Richard seemed to take no other pleasure in the enjoyment of royal authority, than as it furnished him with the means of exalting the man whom he so passionately loved.

The king's uncles and the ancient nobility were highly enraged at a conduct, at  
once

once so injurious to the honour of the crown, so destructive to the interest of the nation, and so subversive of their own credit and influence with their sovereign. The duke of Ireland soon became the object of the public odium and envy; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favourites were loudly sounded, and greedily received in every part of the kingdom.

Mowbray earl of Nottingham, the mareschal, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Piercy earl of Northumberland, Montacute earl of Salisbury, and Beauchamp earl of Warwick, were all attached to each other, and to the princes of the blood, as well by friendship and family connections, as by their common hatred and aversion to the man who had thus supplanted them in the favour of their prince.

No longer restrained by the personal character of the sovereign, they thought it beneath them to cringe to his ministers; and the method they took to redress this grievance, was such as might naturally be expected from proud, haughty, and affronted nobles, whose assistance was capable to support the weakest prince in the possession of his prerogative, and whose opposition was able to make the most powerful monarch totter on his throne.

Michael de la Pole, the present chancellor, and lately advanced to the earldom of Suffolk, was the son of a wealthy merchant; by his valour and abilities he had raised himself to this high dignity during the wars of Edward II. whose favour he had acquired; and of all the friends of the duke of Ireland and the king's privy-counsellors, he was justly considered as the person of the greatest experience and capacity.

The duke of Gloucester, who had great interest in the house of commons, prevailed upon them to draw up an impeachment against the chancellor, and carry it up to the house of lords, where his influence was no less considerable.

The king foresaw the impending danger, and exerted his utmost efforts to ward off the blow. After having in vain endeavoured to raise the Londoners to his aid, he departed from the city, and retired with his court to Eltham. The members sent a deputation, desiring him to return, and threatening, in case of refusal, to dissolve the parliament, and leave the nation in its present dangerous and defenceless condition.

At the same time, one of the commons was encouraged to call for the record, containing the parliamentary deposition of Edward II. a plain intimation of the course  
they



they intended to pursue, should Richard continue to persist in his unpopular and impolitic measures.

The king, alarmed at these proceedings, was glad to submit, and accordingly returned to the parliament, but on this express condition, that, except the prosecution of the earl of Suffolk, no attack should be made upon any other of his ministers.

The parliament having carried this point, preferred an impeachment against Suffolk, in which they accused him of having purchased lands and tenements of the king below their true value : of having neglected to execute an ordinance of the last parliament, appointing nine lords to examine into the state of the realm, and concert the most proper means of reforming and improving it : of having applied to other purposes a tax lately granted for the protection of the sea-coast, which was shamefully neglected to the great danger and prejudice of the kingdom : of having purchased for himself and his heirs, a grant of fifty pounds a year out of the customs of Kingston upon Hull, which had been bestowed by the king's grandfather upon the tydeman de Limberg ; but since forfeited by the said tydeman, of whom the earl had bought it, notwithstanding the forfeiture of which he was sufficiently informed ; and

of having, by a false representation of facts, induced the king to confirm the said purchase: of having procured from the pope, a pension for his son John upon the hospital of St. Anthony, to the prejudice of the high master of the said hospital, or at least of the king, as the high master happened to be a schismatic: of having obtained divers charters and pardons for murders, treasons, felonies, and other crimes; and particularly a charter of certain franchises to the castle of Dover, in disherison of the crown, and subversion of the laws and the king's courts of judicature: and, finally, of having embezzled ten thousand marks, which was raised for the relief of Ghent, by which means that city was lost, together with part of the money.

Suffolk made such a poor defence against this impeachment, that the king himself, who was present at the trial, could not help shaking his head and saying, "Ah! Michael, Michael, see what thou hast done."

He was convicted upon the clearest evidence, and committed to the custody of the duke of Gloucester, who, as constable of the kingdom, sent him prisoner to Windsor-Castle; and all his illegal grants and proceedings were declared to be void and null.

The

The parliament having thus inflicted condign punishment on the chancellor, appointed a committee of eleven noblemen\* to examine into the state of the royal revenue since the king's accession, and to redress the grievances of the nation.

The king himself took an oath to stand to their determinations; and the parliament decreed that if any person should dare to propose a revocation of the powers granted to this committee, he should, for the first offence, forfeit his estate, and for the second, be punished as a traitor.

The commission granted to this council, imported, that the king of his own free choice, and at the desire of his parliament, had changed the great officers of the crown, for the better government of the kingdom, the more regular execution of the laws, the relief of his own estate, and the ease of his people; and had appointed eleven commissioners, as a new council, for one year after the date of the letters patent, to examine into the œconomy of the household, and the management

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\* These were the king's two uncles, the dukes of York and Gloucester; William archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander archbishop of York, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the abbot of Waltham, Richard earl of Arundel, John lord Cobham, Richard le Scroop, and John Devereux.

of the royal revenue; to receive and disburse all public monies, subsidies, taxes, and other payments; and to reform and regulate every thing that was amiss according to their discretion.

The same powers were given to any six of the number, in conjunction with the three great officers of the crown; and if any dispute should arise between these officers and counsellors, the controversy should be decided by the majority of votes.

All the prelates and nobility, the officers of state and of the household, judges, justices, barons, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and all persons whatsoever, were required to obey, aid, and assist the said counsellors, as often, and in what manner they should direct.

The parliament having gained this important point, proceeded in their deliberations with a laudable spirit of patriotism; they freely granted a considerable supply for the service of the public; and the greatest part of the money arising from this subsidy was lodged in the hands of the earl of Arundel, lord high-admiral of England, for defending the coast against any hostile invasion.

Nor was this all: in order to shew their gratitude to the king for his ready compliance with their request, they assigned the  
ransom

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ransom of the heirs of Charles de Blois to his favourite the duke of Ireland, on condition that he should go over to that kingdom before Easter, and recover, at his own expence, from the Irish rebels, the large estate which had been granted him with his last patent.

This good understanding, however, between the king and his subjects was but of short continuance; Richard soon began to repent of the concessions he had made; and resolved to re-assume the reins of government into his own hands. On the very last day of the session, when he thought he had no more to hope from their favour nor fear from their resentment, he gave a loose to his indignation, which he had hitherto suppressed, and openly declared, in full parliament, that nothing done in that session should tend to the prejudice of him and his crown, or the royal prerogative.

As soon as the parliament broke up, the new council began to concert the proper measures for securing the kingdom against the attempts of the enemy. For this purpose, treaties of alliance were formed with several foreign potentates, particularly the court of Gueldres and the republic of Genoa, which was at this time one of the most powerful maritime states in Europe.

The



The English privateers were extremely successful in distressing the French trade, and making descents upon their coasts; and young Henry Piercy, who afterwards became so famous under the name of Hotspur, began to distinguish himself by his hostile excursions from Calais, where he served as a volunteer.

Mean while the king's extravagance and want of œconomy had involved him in such difficulties, that he was obliged to borrow money of his subjects, to whom he granted, by way of security, assignments on the taxes that were to be imposed by the ensuing parliament.

Nor was this the only instance of his folly and imprudence. He restored the earl of Suffolk to his liberty, and re-admitted him into his councils and confidence; he retained the duke of Ireland about his person; and his whole behaviour seemed to denote a fixed resolution to revoke the concessions he had granted in the late parliament.

While he was wallowing in all the brutal pleasures of riot and debauchery at Windsor, the citizens of London, headed by his uncles and other noblemen, presented a petition, in which they desired that he would discard his ministers, who were no other than a parcel of blood-suckers, who preyed upon the vitals of the king and the subjects, and order them to be secured until they should be brought to trial,

trial, and undergo the punishment due to their crimes.

Richard, alarmed at this remonstrance, was so prudent as to yield to necessity, and flattered them with the hopes of redress; but they were no sooner gone, than his creatures construed the manner of this application into open rebellion; and they were strongly suspected of having contrived a plot for assassinating the duke of Gloucester and some other of the discontented nobility.

The earl of Arundel exerted himself with so much diligence in fitting out a fleet, that in the beginning of the year he was ready to put to sea, just as the French had laid up their ships for that season. In his cruize he fell in with a rich fleet of Spanish, French, and Flemish ships, under convoy of a squadron from Flanders and Castile, which he attacked with great bravery, and met with a very warm reception.

The fight was maintained for some time with equal obstinacy, and dubious success; but at last victory declared in favour of the English, who took the Flemish admiral, and six and fifty ships that were under his protection. The pursuit was continued for two days with such success, that the number of their prizes amounted in the whole to one hundred and twenty six, many of which were taken by the earl of Nottingham, a young noble.

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nobleman of great courage and capacity, who now began to distinguish himself as a naval officer.

Arundel had hardly brought his prizes into harbour, when he received intelligence that Brest was again invested by the French forces. He therefore immediately set sail for Brittany, where he obliged the enemy to raise the siege, destroyed two forts which they had built to straiten the place, and supplied it with a whole year's provisions.

John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, had been so ill treated by the French government, that he again resolved to espouse the interest of the English. With this view he had actually entered into a private negotiation with Richard; and the constable De Clisson, who commanded the French forces in those parts, suspecting him of some such design, observed his conduct with a jealous and watchful eye. He imparted his suspicion to the council of France, and even persuaded them to ransom the son of his old competitor, Charles de Blois, who was still detained as an hostage in England.

Montfort, informed of these proceedings, from whence he plainly perceived that the French ministry intended to set up the young de Blois, as his rival to the duchy; and being further inflamed with jealousy against the constable, who is said to have been in  
love

love with his duchess, resolved to seize that nobleman, before he should be apprized of his design.

The troops under the constable's command being quartered at Lentriquet in Brittany, the duke invited him to a grand entertainment at Vannes, when after having treated him with every mark of hospitality and friendship, he caused him to be arrested, loaded with irons, and thrown into prison: and as De Clifton was considered as the very soul of the proposed descent upon England, that enterprize was entirely laid aside.

It is a melancholy reflection to think, that the interest of the king should ever be different from that of the kingdom; and yet it is more than probable, that Richard and his favourites were heartily vexed at this happy event, which defeated a scheme that might have proved ruinous to the nation; for they had no other hope of being able to free themselves from the restraint of the council, than that of its growing into discredit with the people from the failure of its measures.

When the earls of Arundel and Nottingham returned from their late expedition, they were received with shouts of applause by the whole nation, except by the king and his minions. As these two noblemen were strongly attached to the party of the barons, their success and popularity contributed only to  
render

render them more odious and suspected at court. Though Nottingham had been brought up with Richard from his infancy, he met with a very cold and indifferent reception.

The earl of Arundel was entirely neglected, and deprived of his post of high admiral, which was bestowed upon Henry Piercy, surnamed Hotspur, who, though but a young officer, and furnished with a very few ships, defended the coast with great bravery and success.

The duke of Ireland, instead of repairing to that kingdom, according to the order of parliament, still remained at court, where his influence with his master constantly encreased, and his pride and arrogance towards the rest of the nobility, became every day more open and intolerable.

The duke of Gloucester, provoked at the insolence of this haughty minion, enraged at the insult he had lately offered to the royal family by divorcing his wife Philippa, the granddaughter of Edward III. and concerned for the welfare of the nation, which, by his wicked and pernicious counsels, was now brought to the brink of ruin, vowed vengeance against the guilty culprit, and resolved to deliver the kingdom from such a corrupt and abandoned ministry.

In



In an assembly of the chief nobility at London, he voluntarily made oath before the bishop of London, that he had always exerted his utmost endeavours to promote the interest and honour of his majesty, and had never entertained a thought to his prejudice or advantage. He then expatiated upon the insufferable pride and pernicious measures of the duke of Ireland, who had disgraced the royal family, deceived the king, and involved the nation in the greatest miseries and calamities; and he declared his fixed and determined resolution to bring him and his associates to condign punishment.

The bishop, satisfied of Gloucester's sincerity, acquainted the king with this declaration; and the earl of Suffolk affecting to turn it into ridicule, the prelate told him, that such language came with a very bad grace from him, who stood condemned by the parliament, and owed his life entirely to the king's mercy. Richard, provoked at this severe, but just reply, upbraided the bishop with his arrogance and presumption, and even ordered him to be turned out of the apartment.

Every thing now seemed to forebode an immediate rupture between the king and the barons: the partizans of both parties were extremely industrious in attacking the character and conduct of each other; every exercise of prerogative in the king was

magnified into a settled design of tyranny and despotism ; and every step the barons took for the defence of their liberty, and the security of their persons, was construed into an act of open and avowed rebellion.

The barons, having concerted a proper plan for carrying their scheme into execution, retired to their respective estates in the country, in order to raise forces for that purpose ; and they had no sooner left London, than the king caused several citizens of their party to be arrested for high-treason.

The Londoners were so confounded at this unexpected event, that they were glad to save their lives by making a full confession of all that they knew of the plan which the barons had formed ; and the court released them without further punishment, in order to make a merit of this clemency, and by that means draw over the people to the king's interest.

This measure must be allowed to have been a masterly stroke in politics, and had a favourable influence on the king's affairs. The same experiment was tried at Coventry, and was attended with the like success ; and the king and queen, with the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk and other courtiers, made a progress into the western counties, in hopes  
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of persuading the people to support the royal interest, or, at least, of influencing the elections for a new parliament, that it might be less obstinate and inflexible than the last, which had circumscribed the prerogative within such narrow limits.

After making a tour as far as the Welch Marches, they returned to Nottingham, to which place, the sheriffs of the counties, the principal citizens of London, and the judges of England were ordered to repair.

They tampered with the sheriffs to return such members as would readily comply with all the measures of the court; with the citizens to supply the king with men and money for reducing the mutinous barons to obedience; and with the judges to wrest the sense of the laws in favour of the administration.

The sheriffs and citizens could neither be frightened by their threats, nor cajoled by their promises into such a wicked and pernicious measure; but the chief justice Tresilian declared himself ready to gratify the court by drawing up an impeachment against the barons, founded upon certain principles, which, however false and absurd in themselves, were to be pronounced law by the judges.

These venal and mercenary lawyers having received private instructions, declared, in an authentic instrument, that the commission granted in the last parliament was derogatory from the king's prerogative; and that those who procured it ought to be punished with death: that those who endeavoured to abridge the royal prerogative, ought to be punished as traitors: that the king had a right to assemble and govern a parliament, to appoint the subjects of their deliberation, and prescribe the method in which they should proceed; and that those who delayed the subjects thus specified, and proceeded to other business, contrary to the king's pleasure, were guilty of high treason, and ought to suffer the punishment due to that crime: that the king had a right to dissolve the parliament, and command the members to depart on pain of incurring the penalties of treason: that the lords and commons had no right to impeach in parliament any of the king's judges or officers, without his majesty's consent; and that those who took that liberty were traitors: that he who moved in the last parliament for perusing the statute of deposition against Edward II. and he who brought it into parliament, were both of them traitors; and that the judgment passed against the earl of Suffolk was erroneous, and might lawfully be revoked.

Such

Such were the opinions given at the castle of Nottingham, by Robert Tresilian chief justice of England, Robert Belknap chief justice of the common pleas, and his associates, John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, William de Burgh, and John Luston the king's serjeant at law, who signed and sealed the instrument in presence of Alexander archbishop of York, Robert archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Chichester, and John bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michael earl of Suffolk, John Rypon, and John Blake.

These wicked and corrupt judges readily wrested the spirit of the laws, and sapped the fundamental principles of the constitution, in this scandalous manner, without the least scruple or remorse, except Belknap, who, after having signed the instrument with great reluctance, "Now, said he, I want nothing  
 " but a horse, a hurdle, and a halter, to  
 " bring me to the gallows, which, after all,  
 " I could not possibly avoid; for had I not  
 " complied, I must have died here; and now  
 " that I have, I deserve to die for having be-  
 " trayed my country."

While Richard and his courtiers were in vain endeavouring to levy troops to carry his wicked and arbitrary designs into execution, he received advice that Gloucester, and the other associated lords, had collected a nume-



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rous army, with which they were advancing towards London.

As Richard had, by his late popular measures, engaged a strong party in his favour among the lower citizens, and Brembre the mayor was warmly attached to his interest, he hastened up to the metropolis in order to prevent the designs of his enemies, and was received with great magnificence by Brembre, who promised to raise a body of fifty thousand men for his service.

Next day the barons arrived with their forces at Harringay park, within three miles of London; but instead of entering the city, and coming to extremities, they were so prudent as to preserve a shew of respect for the Londoners, many of whom, they knew, were entirely devoted to the king's interest; and the earl of Northumberland, with the lord Basset, and other powerful noblemen, though enemies to the ministry, were still unwilling to come to an open rupture, hoping that all their differences might be happily accommodated in the ensuing parliament, which the king had promised to convoke.

Mean while the army of the barons became every day more numerous and formidable, as well on account of their own popularity, as of the fresh discoveries that were hourly made to the king's dishonour and prejudice.

It

It was now currently reported, that, under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Canterbury, Richard intended to cross the sea, and deliver up Calais and some other fortresses to the king of France, who, in consideration of these grants, had engaged to supply him with an army to reduce his rebellious subjects to obedience, and establish an arbitrary government on the ruins of the English constitution.

This report was rendered the more probable, by the dangerous and pernicious nature of the decisions of the judges, which gave just cause of offence to every lover of his country.

Even the most virtuous of them, who, from a sense of duty, or personal affection, still adhered to their sovereign, were so fully convinced of the iniquity of the king's proceedings, and the rectitude of the barons intentions, that they could not help expressing their sentiments on this subject in his majesty's presence.

This evidently appeared from an answer which Richard received from one of his attendants, named Sir Hugh Lynne. He was remarkable for that kind of discourse, which however farcaetical, is seldom found to displease, and was retained about the king's person for the pleasantry of his conversation.

One

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One day while the king was employed in viewing the disposition of the confederate army, he asked Sir Hugh what he should do with them. "Do with them!" replied the knight, "why, let us march out and fight them; and when you have cut them all in pieces, you may then boast, that you have not left one honest man in your whole kingdom."

Richard, however, was too closely beset by sycophants and flatterers, and too much incensed against the confederate lords, to allow his mind to make that inference, which such a reply was calculated to suggest.

The archbishop of Canterbury and the neutral lords exerted their utmost endeavours in order to effect an accommodation; but Richard refused to listen to their proposals, until having failed in an attempt to seize the earl of Arundel in his castle at Ryegate, and finding himself disappointed in his expectations from Brembre, and the army of the barons encreasing to a prodigious number, he plainly perceived the extreme folly of making any further resistance. He therefore agreed to a personal interview with Gloucester and his associates, who would not, however, attend him in Westminster-hall until they had obtained a safe-conduct for the security of their persons.

This

This was readily granted, but was like to have been basely violated; for a strong body of armed men, commanded by Sir Thomas Trivet and Sir Nicholas Brembre, was placed in ambush near the palace, in order to apprehend and destroy them; and the barons, apprised of this plot, refused to set out for Westminster until the avenues were examined; in consequence of which the conspirators were obliged to retire into the city, from whence they had been collected.

At length the lords arrived in the hall, and approaching the throne with great submission, fell on their knees, and continued a considerable time in that posture, before Richard desired the duke of Gloucester to arise.

The bishop of Ely reproached them with their arrogance and presumption, in daring to take up arms against their sovereign, who, had not he been restrained by his royal clemency, could easily have crushed them into atoms; and then they were permitted to prefer their complaints.

The lords, who came hither to act, and not to rail, made no reply to the prelate's harangue; but still preserving the strongest marks of humility and submission, presented a memorial, in which they insisted, that the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, and Nicholas Brembre, should be removed from  
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his majesty's councils and presence for ever, as traitors to their king and country.

Having delivered this petition, they threw down their gauntlets, according to the custom of the times, and appealed to the trial of single combat for the truth of their assertions.

Richard, alarmed at the resolute and determined air with which they behaved, came down from his throne, and laying aside his lofty and imperious deportment, accosted them with great affability and complaisance.

He told them their grievances should be redressed in the ensuing parliament; and in the mean time exhorting them to suppress all their heats and animosities, and abstain from all acts of violence and outrage, he took both parties under his protection.

He then dismissed them with strong assurances of personal esteem and regard; and as a proof of his sincerity, he, in a few days, issued a proclamation, clearing the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick from the imputation of treason, which had been thrown upon them by the five persons they had challenged to combat, and commanding those calumniators to answer to the charge that was to be brought against them in the next parliament.

Nevertheless, the confederates still kept upon their guard, because they remarked several



ral suspicious symptoms in the behaviour of the king, who, though he had not allowed the favourites to appear at the conference, still continued to retain them about his person, and was entirely guided by their advice and direction.

It was not long before they were convinced that their suspicions were but too well founded. They soon received intelligence, that the duke of Ireland had gone to the Marches of Wales, where he was joined by Sir Thomas Molineux, Sir Ralph Vernon, Sir Ralph Radcliff, and several sheriffs and other gentlemen with their vassals, to the number of five thousand.

Upon the first news of these proceedings, the barons detached the earl of Derby with a considerable body of troops, to stop his progress, and he met him at Radcot-bridge in Oxfordshire. Molineux would fain have persuaded him to hazard an engagement, but the duke had not courage to stand the first charge; he fled towards the river with great precipitation; and the bridge being broken down, he dismounted, and stripped himself of his armour, and then plunging into the river, effected his escape to the opposite bank.

Molineux, who scorned to fly, was killed upon the spot; and the earl of Derby not only gained a complete, and almost bloodless

less victory, but among the baggage of the duke, who was supposed to have been drowned in the river, he found a number of letters, plans, and commissions, by which the projects of the king and his favourites were fully discovered.

This misfortune entirely disconcerted the measures of the cabal, and struck them with such consternation, that the earl of Suffolk disappeared; and with a design of escaping into France, went over in disguise to Calais, where he was discovered, and arrested, by his own brother; and by him, and Beauchamp the governour, sent prisoner to London.\*

After the battle of Radcot bridge, the earl of Derby returned to the lords at St. Albans, from whence they advanced at the head of forty thousand men to London, and encamping in Clerkenwell-fields, sent for the lord mayor and principal inhabitants, who immediately came out to meet them, and delivered into their hands the keys of the city.

By this time Richard had taken refuge in the tower, where he found himself in a most wretched and deplorable condition, deserted by every body, but a few of his own creatures, who, as they had been proud and haughty in prosperity, were now as much dejected in adversity, and were utterly incapable

pable to advise or assist him in the midst of his distress.

The confederates desiring an audience, he was afraid to refuse their request; and in this conference, they represented his foolish and wicked conduct in such strong and striking colours, that the unhappy monarch burst out into a flood of tears, promising at the same time, to meet them next day at Westminster, in order to concert the measures to be taken in the ensuing parliament, which was summoned to meet on the third day of February.

The lords considered the king's sorrow as an happy omen that he was still possessed of some principles of virtue; but in this they were greatly deceived; his tears were rather the effect of fear than repentance; they had no sooner left his presence, than he was persuaded by his worthless minions to retract a promise, which, as they alleged, was so injurious to his royal dignity; and the barons, apprized of this circumstance, drew up their whole army on Tower-hill, which was then very extensive, that he might be intimidated with the sight of such a number, and sent a messenger to assure him, that if he continued to trifle with them, they would presently think of advancing another prince to the throne.

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This expedient had the desired effect. Richard, conscious of his own guilt, and terrified at this menace, solemnly engaged to keep his appointment at Westminster, and faithfully performed his promise. There he granted whatever they desired; and gave up all his minions without distinction of sex or quality.

The archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester had already escaped to the Continent. Among those that remained, were the bishop of Durham, friar Rushak the king's confessor, the lords Zouch, Burnel and Beaumont, Sir Alberic de Vere, Sir Baldwin Beresford, Sir John Worth, Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir John Lovel, together with several ladies of abandoned morals, who had contributed greatly to the profligacy and corruption of the court.

Some of these were imprisoned in different parts of the kingdom; some were obliged to give security for their appearing in court, and answering to the charges that should be exhibited against them; and others were only banished the king's presence.

Sir Simon Burley, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir Nicholas Brembre, Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, Sir William Ellingham, John Blake; and the following clergymen, Richard Clifford,

Clifford, John de Lincoln, Richard Matford, and Nicholas Lake, were committed to close custody that they might be immediately brought to trial.

As to the judges, who had given the infamous decisions before-mentioned, Fulthorp, Belknap, Holt, Burgh, Cary, and Lockton, were seized on the bench in Westminster-hall; but Tresilian, conscious of his own demerits, had already thought proper to abscond.

Richard, finding himself unable to carry his point by open force, resolved, if possible, to obtain it by secret artifice and intrigue. With this view he had, on pretence of summoning a free parliament, inserted a clause in the writs, enjoining the sheriffs to return such members as were entirely unconcerned in the late disputes; but the lords perceiving the tendency of this distinction, which was meant to deprive them of the assistance of their friends, obliged the king to issue a new writ, retracting the said clause, as contrary to the usual form, and inconsistent with the freedom of elections.\*

The parliament meeting at the time appointed, the session was opened by Thomas Fitzalan,

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\* A. D. 1388.



Fitzalan, bishop of Ely, and chancellor of the kingdom, who declared they were assembled to redress the grievances of the public, advise and assist the king in the administration of the government, and concert measures for defending the coasts and the marches of the kingdom, and raising the necessary supplies in the easiest and most expeditious manner.

The chancellor having finished his speech, the duke of Gloucester fell upon his knees, and offered to stand trial before his peers, touching a malicious aspersion which had been thrown upon his character, as if he intended to dethrone the king, and usurp the sovereign authority; but Richard declaring that he was fully satisfied of his innocence, he was, of course, cleared from all suspicion of that nature.

Then the lords spiritual and temporal insisted upon the confirmation of their claim, liberty and franchise, of trying and deciding all important causes, relating to the peers, in the ordinary course of parliament, without being restricted to the common or civil law of the realm; and their claim was admitted and confirmed by the king in full parliament.

This point being settled, the five lords appellants stood up to open their appeals,  
when

when the archbishop of Canterbury, in behalf of himself and the prelates of his province, entered a protest, asserting their right to sit as barons and peers of the realm, and hear, judge, and determine all causes whatsoever brought before that tribunal; and declaring, that this right should not be prejudiced by their withdrawing on this occasion, in compliance with the canons of the church, which forbade them to assist at any trial, where the life or limb of a fellow-creature was concerned. Another protest of the like nature was entered by the bishops of Durham and Carlisle; and their right being owned and confirmed, they withdrew.

Then the appellants preferred their charge against the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre in thirty-nine articles, containing accusations of treasons and misdemeanors, of various kinds and complexions.

The first consisted in their suggesting falsehoods to the king, and obliging him to swear he would be governed by their counsels, and live and die in their defence: their advising his majesty to give the title of king of Ireland to Robert de Vere; and to write to the pope for a confirmation of

that title : their counselling the king to put all the lords and commons of the last parliament to death, except such as adhered to their party : their persuading his majesty that the late commission and statute were made to destroy the royal authority ; and that all who had a share in advising and obtaining it ought to be punished as traitors : their causing the king to send Nicholas Southwell his valet, and other obscure persons, with letters to the king of France, entreating his assistance to destroy the lords and others whom he deemed traitors ; and promising, in consideration of such assistance, to cede to him Cherbourg, Brest, and Calais : their sending to France to procure safe-conducts for the king, the duke, and others, who intended to go thither, and execute these treasonable projects : their persuading the king to issue orders for knights and gentlemen to rise with the duke of Ireland ; and to write to the said duke, representing himself in the utmost danger, pressing him to come to his assistance ; and promising to meet him with all his forces.

In the articles, implying misdemeanours, they were accused of rendering the king inaccessible to his nobility, except in their presence : of engrossing all the king's favours

vours to themselves and their creatures; and sowing the seeds of jealousy and suspicion between him and his nobility: procuring grants of Ireland, and Okeham, with its forests, in favour of Robert de Vere: of committing acts of bribery and corruption: issuing great sums of money, amounting to no less than one hundred thousand marks, to the duke of Ireland, and obstructing the ordinances of parliament: selling commands of importance in Guienne, and the marches of Scotland, to persons unqualified for these offices: obstructing the course of law: procuring pardons for felons and traitors: receiving bribes for maintaining suits and quarrels: excluding lords and other members from the king's council: advising the king to absent himself, and avoid treating with the last parliament: persuading him to assemble some lords, judges, and others, and asking their opinions on several matters in a suspicious manner: compelling many gentlemen in England and Wales to take oaths, and give security for standing by the king against all persons, by which means the nation was exposed to the danger of a civil war: keeping the king at a distance from the commissioners appointed by the parliament: ransoming John de Blois without warrant

warrant or consent of parliament, or of the great council : advising the king to distinguish his retinue with badges, a thing altogether unprecedented, and of dangerous tendency : procuring the opinions of false judges at Nottingham, in order to destroy, under colour of law, all who were concerned in the late statute and commission : resolving to indict the lords and others upon those opinions, and apprehend the duke of Lancaster, in case he had come to England : persuading the king that the commission and statute were made with a view of deposing him from the throne of his ancestors : obliging the companies of London to swear they would live and die with the king against all his enemies, at a time when he looked upon the commissioners to be traitors : publishing a proclamation in that city, prohibiting all persons from aiding or assisting the earl of Arundel with arms or provisions ; and another forbidding every body to speak disrespectfully of the persons appealed : and persuading the king to send a list of persons to his council, that they might be appointed sheriffs, in order to procure a packed parliament.

Sir Nicholas Brembre was accused of having ordered several criminals to be taken out  
of



of Newgate by night, and executed in an illegal manner. The duke of Ireland was charged with having acted as chief justice of Chester without warrant or commission; with having levied forces to destroy the lords and the king's lieges, and attempting to kill the appellants at the battle of Radcot-bridge.

Such were the articles exhibited against the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, who being summoned in the chamber of the parliament in Westminster-hall, and at the great gate of the palace, without appearing to answer to the charge, the appellants desired that the default might be recorded, and the lords proceed to judgment.

Accordingly the king and lords temporal, without having examined any witnesses, being fully convinced in their own minds of the truth of the articles, pronounced the persons appealed guilty of high treason. Their estates were forfeited; the archbishop's temporalities were seized, and his person reserved for further deliberation; but the others were condemned to be drawn and hanged as traitors.

Tresilian being betrayed by his own servant, was taken in a mean disguise, and brought before the parliament, where being  
asked,

asked, if he had any thing to answer in his own defence, and making no answer, he was ordered to be executed immediately at Tyburn.

The earl of Suffolk and the duke of Ireland had made their escape to the Continent. Alexander archbishop of York was apprehended at Shields, attempting to go on board of a ship in disguise; but the duke of Gloucester would not inflict any corporal punishment upon him, lest he should offend the prelates of his own party; and persuaded the pope to translate him from York to St. Andrew's in Scotland.

This translation, however, did not take effect, because Scotland owned the authority of Clement the antipope; and Alexander was obliged to retire into Flanders, where he served a small cure till the day of his death, which happened about three years after.

The earl of Suffolk did not many months survive his disgrace; and the duke of Ireland died in a few years at Louvain, of the wounds he received in hunting a wild boar in Brabant.

Sir Nicholas Brembre being brought before the parliament to hear his indictment, denied the charge; and, as a knight, insisted upon the privilege of defending his  
inno-

innocence in single combat; but this demand being rejected by the parliament, he was brought to the bar, received sentence of death, and was delivered into the hands of the earl mareschal, who, together with the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, attended at his execution.

These prosecutions being finished, the lords spiritual and temporal declared, that considering the king's youth and inexperience, nothing contained in the appeal should reflect upon him, or tend, in the least, to the prejudice of his person.

Then the commons proceeded to impeach the other evil counsellors, by whom his majesty had been led into such pernicious measures. The judges, who gave and signed their opinions at Nottingham, were condemned to die the death of traitors; their heirs were disinherited, and their estates forfeited: the same sentence was passed upon John Blake for drawing up the questions, and Thomas Huske for aiding and abetting the scheme of seizing and accusing the noblemen of the opposition.

These were hurried away to immediate execution; but the judges, at the intercession of the bishops, and on account of several favourable circumstances that appeared in their case, were indulged with a pardon

don as to life and limb, though sent into perpetual exile in different parts of Ireland.

Sir Simon Burley, Sir John Beauchamp of Holt baron of Kidderminster, Sir John Salisbury, and Sir James Berners, were impeached by the commons as aiders and abettors of the five persons appealed and attainted; and Burley in particular was accused of having contributed by his interest to keep the earl of Suffolk so long in the office of chancellor; of having assisted that traitor in making his escape from the realm; of having encouraged the duke of Ireland to raise forces; of having introduced him to court, and obtained for him a grant of the Welch estate which had belonged to his wife's father the lord of Concy; of having introduced to the king the mayor of Dover, who assured his majesty that he would send a thousand able-bodied men of the Cinque-Ports to assist him against the appellants. All these knights denied the charge, and offered to prove their innocence in single combat; and the lords took time to consider the matter till the meeting of parliament, which was adjourned during the Easter-holidays.

In this interval great interest was made in favour of Sir Simon Burley, who had  
been

been the king's preceptor from his infancy; and brought the queen from the Continent, for Richard was now married to the sister of the emperor Wincheslaus, king of Bohemia.

The queen herself interceded for his life; the earl of Derby exerted his utmost endeavours to save him; and his request being rejected, was so provoked, that his resentment was like to have occasioned a rupture among the appellants.

Burley was adjudged to die the death of a traitor; but as he was a knight of the garter, and had served his country in the reign of the late king with great reputation and success, Richard, with the consent of the lords, remitted part of the sentence, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill: Beauchamp and Berners underwent the same fate; but the sentence was executed in its utmost rigour upon Salisbury.

The appellants having thus brought the culprits to condign punishment, the parliament passed an act of amnesty and pardon, in favour of all who had been employed about the king's person; or were of the retinue, company, counsel, assent, or adherence of those, who had been attainted and condemned; excepting, however, about eight or ten ecclesiastics, and a



few laymen, who were excluded by name from the benefit of this pardon.

The attainted persons, still alive, were declared incapable of being restored to the protection of the law; any pardon that might be granted them, was, by anticipation, pronounced to be null; and it was decreed, that whoever should solicit, or endeavour to procure any grace in their behalf, should be tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor.

By another act, the commission and statute, with the proceedings of the last parliament, and all the steps taken by the appellants and their adherents, were confirmed; and these last, together with the citizens of London, obtained a pardon for all felonies, insurrections, murders, and other crimes of which they might have been guilty.

The appeals, impeachments, judgments, and executions, made and given in this parliament, were approved, affirmed and established, notwithstanding the absence of the lords spiritual; but with this proviso, that this approbation, affirmation, and establishment, should not be made a precedent or drawn into example; and that though several points had been pronounced treason in this parliament, which were not declared

clared to be such in any statute; yet no judges should be empowered to give judgment in any other cases of treason, except in the usual manner observed by former parliaments.

It was now thought proper, that, as Richard had broken his contract with the people, he should renew his coronation oath, and that the barons, in their turn, should again do him homage and fealty.

This ceremony being finished, the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, denounced the sentence of excommunication against all who should presume to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom.

The commons had already continued the duty of three shillings on every ton of wine, and one shilling in the pound upon all merchandize, and had likewise granted an half tenth and half fifteenth to defray the expence of a naval expedition; but they now continued the subsidy on wool and leather; and assigned twenty thousand pounds of the produce to the appellants, to indemnify them for the sums they had expended in the late prosecutions and other services.

Every thing being thus settled to the satisfaction of the lords, the session, which had continued from the third day of February,

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the fourth day of June, broke up, with the appellation of the unmerciful parliament; and another was assembled in the same year at Cambridge, where many useful regulations were made, relating to the internal government of the realm, and the grievance of being obliged to go to Rome for benefices; and in this assembly, a supply was voted both by clergy and laity.

Mean while the earl of Arundel, having received a commission as governour of Brest, and a renewal of that by which he was appointed high admiral of England, put to sea with a squadron immediately after Easter; and meeting with a French fleet, took eighty of their ships, which he brought into the ports of England, after having wasted the islands of Rhée and Oleron, and alarmed the whole coast of France from the one end of the channel to the other.

He sailed again towards the latter end of the year with a formidable fleet, having on board the earl of Nottingham, the lord Clifford, Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir William Shelley, Sir Thomas Cook, and many other persons of distinction, with a body of six thousand land forces. His intention was not only to insult the French coasts, but to induce the duke of Brittany to declare war against Charles. This fleet, however, was soon

soon attacked and dispersed by a violent storm; and the earl himself, with seven and twenty ships, was obliged to put in at the small port of La Pates within a league of Rochelle.

The castle of Bouteville, in that neighbourhood, was then invested by the mareschal de Sancerre, who hearing of the earl's arrival and distressed condition, ordered the inhabitants of Rochelle to put to sea with eight gallies, and block up the English ships in the harbour, while, raising the siege, he himself should march to attack them by land; so that he imagined they must either be taken or destroyed.

But his scheme was defeated by the vigilance and activity of Arundel, who had repaired his ships before the arrival of the enemy; and receiving some private intimation of the mareschal's design, put to sea, in order to meet the gallies, which he immediately attacked and sunk; then returning to the harbour, and landing his forces, he repulsed the French general, and pursued him to the gates of Rochelle.

While his troops were quartered in this place, he was joined by La Bernoy, who commanded the fort of Galuset in the Limousin for the king of England; and daily skirmishes were fought with various success.

But though he succeeded in this part of his design, he failed in the other: he soon found it impossible to persuade the duke of Brittany to declare against France; for though the French king was highly incensed at the indignity offered to his constable; Montfort was powerfully supported by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, who were jealous of the greatness and reputation of de Clifton; and it was deemed a matter of so much consequence to draw off the duke of Brittany from his connexion with England, that Charles thought proper to pass over the outrage he had committed, and even permit him to demand a large ransom from the constable.

Several other concessions were made in order to effect a thorough reconciliation; and the earl of Arundel was no sooner apprized of these proceedings, than he returned with his fleet and forces to England.

In the course of this year, the king of England lost another ally, which might have been of great service to his affairs on the Continent. A dispute having happened between the duke of Gueldres and the duchess of Brabant, this last received a powerful reinforcement of troops from her nephew the duke of Burgundy; and in order to counterballance that supply, her antago-  
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nist applied to the court of England for assistance. Being indulged with an annual pension of a thousand pounds, he declared war against France; but, Charles falling into his country with a numerous army, he was glad to sue for a pardon, which he obtained, on condition of renouncing his alliance with England.

Mean while the Scots, as usual, made frequent irruptions into the northern counties, which they ravaged with fire and sword. The young Douglas, with the earl of Fife, had landed in Ireland, where they reduced the town of Carlingford, took fifteen ships, defeated the natives in battle, and plundered the Isle of Man in their return. To retort these hostilities, the lords of the Marches invaded Scotland, and wasted the Merse: but hearing that a numerous army of the enemy was advancing against them, they thought proper to retire into their own country, without risking a general engagement.

The bishop of Durham, the earl of Northumberland, and several other noblemen were empowered to treat with the Scots concerning a final accommodation; and their endeavours proving abortive, a commission was given to the bishop of Sodor and Man, to negotiate with Donald of the Isles, that he might invade the north of Scotland; but neither did this project succeed.

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The Scottish parliament, which met at Aberdeen, determined to enter England with two armies; and this scheme was immediately carried into execution: one of these bodies, commanded by the earls of Douglas, Fife, and Dunbar, penetrated beyond Newcastle, and wasted the whole bishopric of Durham; then they sat down before Newcastle, which was defended by the gallant Piercy, surnamed Hotspur, his brother Sir Ralph, and most of the gentlemen of the northern counties. The Scottish army amounted to no more than three hundred horse and two thousand infantry, and therefore was utterly unable to besiege the town in form; so that their only intention was to provoke Piercy to come forth and venture a general engagement.

Nor was it long before they obtained what they wanted. In a few days, the English making a sally, a battle ensued, during which Piercy and Douglas attacked each other on horseback in sight of both armies; in age, courage, and conduct, they were nearly equal; and each of them was considered in his own country as the flower of chivalry; so that both sides suspended their blows in order to see the issue of this rencounter.

At the first shock Piercy was dismounted, and would have been taken prisoner, had  
not

not his men rushed in and saved him from that dishonour; but Douglas had won his lance and pennon, which he waved over his head, calling aloud, that he would carry it into Scotland as a trophy of his victory. So saying, he ordered his men to decamp, and left Piercy inflamed with rage, and meditating vengeance. He swore, that Douglas should never be able to perform his vaunting promise; and having collected a body of six hundred horse and eight thousand foot, he immediately began his march in pursuit of the enemy, without waiting for the troops which the bishop of Durham was bringing to his assistance.

The Scots, in their return, had invested the strong castle of Otterburn, the siege of which they were warmly plying when they were overtaken by Piercy, who instantly attacked them with great intrepidity, though it was almost dark before he could begin the charge. As Douglas probably expected a visit of this nature, he was not surprised, but drew out his men in good order, and gave the enemy a warm reception.

The fight was maintained with equal bravery on both sides until night put an end to the combat: in a few hours, however, the moon happening to shine out, the English renewed the attack with fresh fury; and  
Piercy

Piercy made such desperate efforts to retrieve his honour, that the Scots were thrown into confusion, and began to give way. Douglas was no sooner apprized of this circumstance, than he rushed into the English ranks with his battle-ax in his hand; and being supported by a few trusty followers, made such a terrible havock among the enemy, that they in their turn began to recoil, tho' not before the brave Scot received three mortal wounds, of which he instantly expired.

His death, had it been known, must, at once, have secured the victory to the English; but the doubtful and uncertain light concealing it from both sides, the Scots returned to the charge with such irresistible fury, that Piercy, his brother, and an hundred gentlemen and officers of distinction were taken prisoners; the English army was totally routed; and upwards of twelve hundred of them were left dead upon the field.

The bishop of Durham, advancing at the head of ten thousand men to join Piercy, was no sooner informed of this disaster, than, instead of attacking the Scots, who, exhausted with fatigue, and reduced in their numbers, as they now were, might have been easily defeated, he dismissed his forces, and retired with his officers to Newcastle, leaving

leaving the enemy to carry off their prisoners and booty at their own leisure.

The other body, which invaded England by the way of Carlisle, plundered the western borders, reduced several villages to ashes, and after having taken a number of prisoners and cattle, returned to their own country without molestation.

During these transactions in Britain, a commission was given to the duke of Lancaster, the king's lieutenant in Guienne, to treat with France about a final accommodation; and conferences being opened on the subject in the church of Lenlinghen between Calais and Boulogne a truce was concluded for three years between the two kingdoms; and Robert king of Scotland, afterwards acceded to this agreement.\*

As England now enjoyed a profound peace, and was freed from all danger of a foreign invasion, Richard resolved to take this opportunity of emancipating himself from that state of slavery and subjection, in which he had been hitherto kept by his uncles, and the other lords of the opposition.

In an extraordinary council of the nobility, which was held after Easter, he, to  
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\* A. D. 1389.



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the surprize of all present, begged to be informed of his own age; and being told that he was turned of two and twenty; "Well then (said he) I am certainly old enough to govern my own house, my family, and my kingdom; and I see no reason why I should be deprived of a right which the meanest of my subjects enjoy.\*"

The lords, confounded at this intimation, replied, that he had certainly an indisputable right to assume the reins of government into his own hands. "Yes (replied he) I have been long under the direction of tutors, whom I will now remove from my council, and endeavour to manage my own affairs."

Nor was it long before he carried his design into execution. He deprived Thomas Fitzalan archbishop of Canterbury of the dignity of chancellor, and bestowed that high office upon William of Wickam bishop of Winchester. The duke of Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, and other lords  
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\* The fallacy of this kind of reasoning we have already exposed in a former note. This is the very language that was used; these are the very sentiments that were entertained by Edward II. and we shall find, in the sequel, that they led to the same pernicious measures, which brought that weak and misguided monarch to an unhappy and untimely end.

of the opposition were removed from the council. The post of treasurer was taken from the bishop of Hereford: that of high-admiral from the earl of Arundel: the keeper of the Privy-seal, all the great officers of the state and the household, together with the judges, were changed, and every place was filled with persons in whom the king could repose an entire confidence.

Richard, conscious of the unpopularity of these proceedings, published a proclamation, in which he acquainted his subjects that he had taken the government of the realm into his own hands; that they might now expect to see the public tranquillity more carefully preserved, and justice dispensed with greater impartiality than they had been before this alteration.

At the same time, in order to gain the affections of the people, he confirmed the pardons granted in the last parliament; and suspended the payment of the subsidy voted in the last session at Cambridge.

About this period the duke of Lancaster returned from the Continent, and effected a reconciliation between the king and the duke of Gloucester. As a reward for this service, he was, in the parliament which met at Westminster on the seventeenth day of January,\* created duke of Aquitaine for

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life,

\* A. D. 1390.

life, and solemnly invested with the ensigns belonging to that dignity. Edward Plantagenet, son to the duke of York, was advanced to the earldom of Rutland, and received a pension of eight hundred marks in order to enable him to support his new dignity.

On the fourth day of the session, the bishop of Winchester delivered the great seal to the king, as the bishop of St. David's did the keys of the Exchequer, which he kept as treasurer; and all the lords of the council were discharged at their own request; then they asked in open parliament if any person had aught to object to their conduct; which the commons having examined, were pleased to approve, and declared themselves perfectly well satisfied with all their transactions.

This declaration was no sooner made than the king restored them all to their places, and added the dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster to his council, protesting, however, that for any thing then done, he would retain or displace those counsellors as he himself should think proper.

The oppressive measures of the court of Rome were now became so intolerable, that the commons desired that the statutes enacted against these encroachments upon the royal

royal authority, and the liberties of the nation, in the reigns of Edward I. and his grandson, should be strictly put in execution, and further regulations made for preventing the growth of this evil.

The archbishops, startled at this petition, entered a protest in behalf of themselves and their suffragans, declaring, that they would not assent to the revival of any old statute, or the passing any new law against the authority of the pope, or in prejudice of the liberties of the clergy.

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, Richard gratified the commons so far as to order the former statutes to be faithfully executed; and they, in return for this indulgence, granted a subsidy of three and thirty shillings and four pence upon every sack of wool, and five marks upon every last of leather for the defence of the kingdom, as the duration of the truce with France was extremely dubious and uncertain. This subsidy was continued for three years by the next parliament, which met on the twelfth day of November.

It was in this session, that the pension of a thousand pounds a year granted to the dukes of York and Lancaster was confirmed to them and their heirs for ever; and the lords and commons declared with

One accord, that the royalty and prerogative of the king should be preserved and maintained; and whatever had been done or attempted against them redressed and amended; so as that the king should be as free as any of his progenitors.

In a word, such a perfect harmony and concord seemed to be established between Richard and this parliament, that, before it broke up, the members presented their humble thanks to the king for his good government, and the great zeal he had always shewn for the happiness and welfare of his people.

Nor was the parliament, which met in the course of the following year, less remarkable for their loyalty and affection; they renewed the declaration touching the king's enjoyment of his prerogative, with this addition, "notwithstanding any statute and ordinance formerly made in derogation thereof, particularly in the reign of Edward II." and this was passed into an act of parliament.\*

At the same time they granted him a whole tenth and fifteenth, to defray the charges of his voyage to France, whither he intended to go, in order to have a personal inter-



interview with the French king, and, if possible, to effect a lasting accommodation. Over and above this liberal grant, they voted others for the service of the public; and thought they had a right to expect some return of gratitude from his majesty.

Full of these sentiments, the knights of the shires desired, that as it was a common practice in corporations, to enroll in the number of their burgesses all villains or copyholders, after having lived a year and a day among them, without being reclaimed or molested, the lords of the manour might be allowed to enter such boroughs, and seize and bring away the villains, who were part of their property.

Richard refused to grant this petition, as it was a direct attack upon the privileges of corporations; nor did he think proper to comply with another presented by the whole body of the commons, proposing an act for disabling the villains or copyholders of prelates and monasteries to purchase land in fee, and for prohibiting all villains whatsoever from sending their children to school, by which means they acquired learning, and delivered themselves from their state of servility, to the prejudice of the right and honour of the freeholders in England.

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The interview between the English and the French monarchs was to be held about Mid-lent at Amiens: at the time appointed, Charles, with his brother and his uncles, repaired to that city, and Richard proceeded as far as Dover in his way thither; but whether he altered his resolution of his own accord, or was dissuaded from his journey by the advice of his council, his voyage was delayed, and he continued in Dover-castle with the duke of Gloucester, while his other two uncles, with the earls of Huntingdon and Derby, the bishops of London and Derby, Sir Thomas Piercy, and others of his council, went over to Amiens in quality of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries. \*

Being met on the road by the dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Bourgogne, they entered the town with a train of twelve hundred horse, and during their stay were maintained at the expence of the French king, who treated them with equal hospitality and magnificence.

Immediately after their arrival the conferences were begun, but so many difficulties occurred in the course of the negociation, that there seemed to be little hopes of effecting a solid peace.

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The French insisted upon the demolition of Calais; the English demanded the restitution of all the places they had lost in France since the treaty of Bretigny, together with the payment of one million and four hundred thousand livres, that still remained due of king John's ransom. Charles was content that the English should possess the nine bishoprics, and all their territories, in Guienne, independent of the crown of France, and even offered to pay the remainder of the ransom within three years, on condition that Calais should be demolished; but the duke of Lancaster declared, that he had no powers to grant such an article.

The truce was therefore continued till Michaelmas in the following year, and the terms of peace which France had offered were referred to the consideration of the English council. Two French knights, named John de Chateau-Morant, and Taupin de Charlemerle, accompanied the ambassadors to Dover, in order to learn the king's resolution on this subject; and a council being called, the plenipotentiaries laid before it the particulars of their negotiation.

As the members were divided in their sentiments, the duke of Gloucester observed that they had no power to conclude  
a treaty

a treaty without having first consulted the parliament, particularly with regard to the demolition of Calais, which was a matter of the last importance to the nation; till this step, therefore, should have been taken, no final answer could possibly be returned; but, in the mean time, the prolongation of the truce was ratified by his majesty in council.

This treaty of Amiens was productive of no advantage to the nation, though it was of considerable service to the duke of Lancaster, who received the greatest part of the subsidy granted in the last parliament, in order to enable him to defray the expence of his voyage. With regard to the grant of Guienne, which had been bestowed upon him, he met with some considerable difficulties, which were not so easily removed.

The king's order for putting him in possession of that dutchy, was warmly disputed by the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and other principal cities, as well as the noblesse of the country, who imagined that this grant contained an alienation of the province to the duke and his heirs for ever, and an entire separation of it from the crown of England, contrary to their  
old

old and original privilege of holding their lands immediately of the king or his eldest son, and of no other person whatever.

Besides, the grant itself was defective and imperfect; for though it conveyed to the duke of Lancaster the dutchy with all its rights, revenues, and appurtenances, and enjoined all persons to do homage and swear fealty to him; it yet contained no clause which absolved them from the oath of allegiance they had taken to Richard.

They likewise suspected that the grant had been extorted by force, or procured by a fraud; and in order to remove their scruples, and satisfy their minds in these particulars, the prelates, nobility, and cities of Guienne sent over deputies to be informed of the king's pleasure from his own mouth.

These arrived about Midsummer at Nottingham, where Richard had convoked a great council to consider of the treaty with France; and having acquainted him with the nature of their commission, the king assured them, that he had made the grant of his own free will, and with the advice and consent of his parliament for the duke's natural life only. At the same time, he  
con-



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confirmed the liberties and privileges of the clergy, nobility, cities, and commons of Guienne, in a formal instrument signed by himself, and authenticated by the great seal of England,



*The End of the* FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

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